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AUTHOR Ager, Lynn Price
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ABSTRACT

The village of Tununak on Nelson Island in southwestern Alaska was the site of this field investigation into Eskimo children's games. The focus of investigation was the relationship between role structure in the community and player organization in games; the expressive nature of games as defined by specific values reflected in games and game behavior was also investigated. Due to the reserved nature of the Tununak people, the method of investigation was primarily observational, although questions were addressed to and answered by an atypical girl, two established white teachers, and an island native living off the Island who had returned for a summer visit. Results indicated: that there was a correlation in traditional Eskimo society between complexity of societal role structure and player organization in games; that while culture change had affected community role structure dramatically, such role changes were not reflected in game role organization; that Eskimos had adopted many new games and new types of games, but the organization of players remained essentially similar to that of their traditional games (it was suggested that this was due to the influence of conservative cultural values still operative in this society); that values had not changed at the same rate as other aspects of this Eskimo culture, and games preferred by contemporary Eskimos here were still those in which game role organization and rules were consistant with the traditional cultural value system. (Author/JC)

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ALASKAN ESKIMO CHILDREN'S GAMES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO CULTURAL VALUES AND ROLE STRUCTURE IN A NELSON ISLAND COMMUNITY

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Lynn Price Ager

Department of Anthropology

December 4, 1975

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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FINAL REPORT

ALASKAN ESKIMO CHILDREN'S GAMES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO CULTURAL VALUES AND ROLE STRUCTURE IN A NELSON ISLAND COMMUNITY

National Institute of Education
Project No. NE-G-00-3-0104

Lynn Price Ager

The Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

November 19, 1975

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ABSTRACT

Eight months' field investigation into Eskimo children's games in an Alaskan village were undertaken to discover the relationship between role structure in the community and player organization in games as well as to explore the expressive nature of games by defining specifically what values are reflected in games and game behavior.

It was learned that a correlation can be found in traditional Eskimo society between complexity of societal role structure and player organization in games; but while culture change has affected community role structure dramatically, such role changes are not reflected in game role organization. Eskimos have adopted many new games and new types of games, but the organization of players remains essentially similar to that in traditional games. It is suggested that this is due to the influence of conservative cultural values still operating in the society. Values have not changed at the same rate as other aspects of Eskimo culture, and games preferred by contemporary Eskimos in the village studied are still those in which game role organization and rules are consistent with the traditional cultural value system.

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In undertaking any dissertation research, but particularly one involving fieldwork, one depends a great deal on the assistance and counsel of others. I am grateful for generous financial support for fieldwork provided by the National Institute of Education (Grant No. NE-G-00-3-0104) and support for the dissertation year provided by the National Institute of Mental Health (Fellowship No. F01 MH58184-01). I would also like to thank the Research Foundation at The Ohio State University for typing the dissertation for me.

I was fortunate to have had a very supportive committee whose counsel in all phases of graduate work was deeply appreciated. Dr. Ojo Arewa, Dr. Daniel Hughes, and Dr. John Messenger advised me on the initial proposal and during the writing of the dissertation. My advisor, Dr. Erika Bourguignon, has been of invaluable help in encouraging me and offering constructive criticism in all phases of the research and writing. Throughout my association with her I have experienced a growing understanding of the loyalty that all of her former students feel toward her, until now I, too, have joined that loyal band.

In the field I was helped by the generosity and kindness of Father René Astruc, S.J., and Father Francis Fallert, S.J., and by the teachers at the Bureau of Indian Affairs School in Tununak. I shall not name them because of the critical remarks I have made about them in this manuscript. While these individuals must be congratulated for their perseverence in a difficult job and for their willingness to help me while I was in Tununak, I have felt it necessary to express my concern for their lack of understanding of the Eskimo culture. The fault lies less with them as individuals than it does with the system which trains them and with the agency which employs them without adequate orientation programs to prepare them for their cross-cultural experience.

My special gratitude to Marie Toscano, a lay volunteer with the Catholic church in Tununak and a Montessori-trained preschool teacher, cannot be adequately expressed. She has dedicated the last twelve years of her life to teaching young Eskimo children and has endured many personal hardships and personal sacrifices in the process. Her unfailing generosity, kindness and help to me and the genuine love and concern she feels for her pupils have earned by deepest admiration and respect.

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My husband, Thomas Ager, Chuck Daily, and Judy Hower, drafted the maps of Alaska and Nelson Island. Tom also offered his expertise in geology and botany in helping me write the section on the physical setting of Tununak. He acted as field assistant for two months and gathered much important information on male life in the village as well as conducted an ethnobotanical study of Nelson Island which increased my own understanding of Eskimo culture. In addition, he has drawn the sketches of children's play activities which are included in this manuscript, and he took nearly all the photographs we have of Nelson Island and the people there. But most of all, I want to thank him for being my best friend in all phases of my graduate career. Only he can know how much I rely on him for strength and reassurance and how much he has supported me during crucial stages of my work.

Finally, to the people of Tununak who took me in, first as a stranger and later as a friend, I must express my deepest gratitude. Not only did they provide me with the material for this dissertation, but since I left, they have continued to write to me to keep me up to date on events that have occurred since my departure. Their friendship has been personally very rewarding to me.

VITA

September 15, 1945	Born - Sheldon, Iowa
1968	B.A., The George Washington University, Washington, D.C.
1969-70	Research Associate, Alaska State Museum, Juneau, Alaska, and Instructor of Anthropology, Juneau-Douglas College
1970-71	Teaching Assistant, Department of Anthropology, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska, and part-time Instructor of Anthropology, Division of Statewide Services, University of Alaska, Fairbanks
1971	M.A., The University of Alaska, Fairbanks, Alaska
1971-73	Teaching Associate, Department of Anthropology, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1973-74	National Institute of Education Fellow, The Ohio State University
1974-75	National Institute of Mental Health Predoctoral Fellow, The Ohio State University

PUBLICATIONS

North American Indian Collection. A handbook and guide to the collection of the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, (with Lisa Taft), 1972.

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UNPUBLISHED PAPERS PRESENTED AT MEETINGS

1970 "A Cultural Perspective of Current Problems in the Education of Alaska Natives." Paper presented to the Conference on Education of Ketchikan Native Students, Ketchikan Community College, April.

1970 "The Family: A Cross-cultural Perspective." Paper presented to the Conference of the Family, Juneau, March.

1972 "Dance and Anthropology." Paper presented to the Conference on Careers in Dance, Alverno College, Milwaukee, October.

1973 "Storyknifing: the Acquisition of Folkloristic Competence in Eskimo Society." Paper presented to the American Anthropological Association meetings, New Orleans, November, (co-author: Gregory Shreve)

1974 "The Expression of Cultural Values in Eskimo Dance." Paper presented to the CORD/SEM conference, San Francisco, October.

1975 "The Reflection of Cultural Values in Eskimo Children's Games." Paper presented to the Association for the Anthropological Study of Play, Detroit, April.

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Cultural Anthropology

Nonverbal Communication

Arctic and Subarctic Ethnology

Dance Ethnology

Play and Games Theory

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RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

Several problems became clear during the course of this research in an Eskimo village. One is that the values of Eskimo society are in many ways at odds with those fostered in contemporary American school classrooms. The standard, traditional methods of teaching by one teacher to a group of students in a formal, rigidly structured situation have no parallel in the traditional culture of Eskimos where learning was accomplished individually by watching and doing. There was almost no formal instruction in aboriginal Eskimo society. Statements by several teachers I interviewed in Alaska have indicated that they feel a deep sense of frustration with the progress of many Eskimo children in school. They have their own explanations for this: language barriers; laziness and lack of motivation by the students; lack of reinforcement at home; inability of the students to identify with the subject material, etc. Extensive efforts to improve the education of native American students are currently underway, and several findings of this study may shed some light on the cultural barriers to effective learning (and teaching) in Eskimo villages. It has been noted in this study and in many ethnographies of Eskimos that there is a basic individualism underlying their culture. Individuals do, of course, cooperate and share in order to function as a society, but competition in all endeavors, particularly economic, is primarily individual. Eskimo children like to compete, but the nature of competition is not aggressive or ruthless. They do not like to win at another's expense. This may be one reason that "star" pupils are rare. No one likes to stand out, to attract the limelight. Speaking up in class, which is expected in American classrooms, is unpleasant for some of these children. Even if they feel they know the answer to a question, they do not always wish to call attention to themselves by speaking up if no one else does. They want to "fit in." Anathema to aggressive competition is expressed by one young Eskimo man with regard to games.

> The Eskimo boys, myself included, were not always completely sold on the idea of aggressive offense in the play of basketball. We expended our energies, not because of wanting so much to win the lopsided games, but from wanting to fit into the kinds of activities that the cities had to offer young, active boys (Senungetuk 1971: 145).

Perhaps in our encouraging this kind of competition in games and in the classroom, we are fostering an unhealthy attitude among Eskimo children, one which is inconsistent with the values they learn at home. However, since they do enjoy doing their best, we should encourage individual

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progress. My feeling is that an education system such as Montessori would work much more effectively in Eskimo society than the present standard teaching methods. Montessori methods have been proved effective in cross-cultural situations around the world. They depend less on verbal skill in English than do some other methods now employed in the United States. Moreover, the system is one in which each student progresses at his own rate of speed. Eskimo children seem to like to work in school, and a system in which they can be encouraged to do their best, to compete at their own level without affecting the self-images of their peers, is one which fits very nicely with Eskimo values of competition and cooperation. There is, in fact, a Montessori preschool in the village of Tununak. I myself have witnessed the children's activities there and have been astounded at the progress some students have made in only one or two years of attendance there. Children enter at about age four, not knowing any English at all. Within two or three years, they are reading in English, putting together maps of the world in puzzles, and evidencing excellent comprehension of numerical concepts. One teacher, Montessori trained, was able to effectively teach a group of twenty-five students by herself. The children who attend standard classrooms where they receive little individualized instruction, do not seem to do as well, according to statements made by teachers.

In addition, the current practice of a teacher standing at some distance from students who are lined up in rows of desks should be replaced by small groups of students and teacher in close proximity and at the same level, e.g., on the floor or in a circle of chairs, which is a more comfortable situation for Eskimo students whose concepts of personal space and distance differ from those of Anglo-Americans. The Montessori school is conducted in such an atmosphere of close groups of teacher and pupils.

Benefits of a Montessori program for children with this cultural background are several:

a) individualized instruction paced for each student's abilities,
b) lack of grading system which labels students and negatively affects the self-image of slower students,
c) cross-culturally applicable teaching methods,
d) lack of rigidly structured classroom setting, alien to Eskimo concepts of personal space and distance, and alien to their concepts of role relationships.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problems and Goals of This Research

For many years ethnologists have recognized that games are as culturally variable as other types of expressive behavior, such as the graphic and plastic arts, music, folklore, and dance. As expressive behavior, games are believed to reflect structural models comparable to those to be found in other aspects of a given society's culture. For this reason, the study of games has become an important area of anthropological research in recent times. What has been learned is that not only are competitive games not universal, but types of games played vary greatly from one society to another. Until fairly recently, the theoretical approaches to games have been those of psychologists, historians, and educators who have been interested in the implications of game playing much longer than have anthropologists. But such approaches have not provided explanations for cultural variability, that is, why one type of game is played in one society but not in another. Modern anthropological investigations have begun to yield solutions to questions of cross-cultural diversity in game preferences; the major investigations have so far been in the form of cross-cultural surveys based in part on information in the Human Relations Area Files and the Ethnographic Atlas. While correlations of games with other cultural traits have produced valuable information on game variability and possible reasons for it, major limitations in such studies result from a lack of complete data on games of most societies. Because the interest in games is rather recent in anthropology, few ethnographies contain substantial information on game playing. Complete game inventories from non-western societies have been virtually non-existent until the past few years and even now are scarce. The hypotheses regarding specific cultural variables affecting a society's game preferences, suggested by correlations discovered in cross-cultural surveys, must be tested in single societies for which more complete data on games and playing are available. In addition, the expressive nature of games must be demonstrated specifically rather than generally: exactly what is expressed in games, and how do games relate to other cultural elements? Roger Caillois has called for such specific analysis:

> ...without prior analysis it is not possible to determine which games tally with the culture's institutional values,

> confirm and reinforce them and which, inversely, contradict and flout them (Caillois 1957: 101).

Because of the dearth of complete game information from single cultures, and because of a need in anthropology to explore expressive behavior in more specific ways than heretofore, I undertook an investigation of games played by Eskimos. Fieldwork in St. Mary's, Alaska, on the Yukon River, in 1968 and 1969 resulted in an in-depth analysis and report on one particular game--storyknifing (game #25 in Appendix A) (Ager 1971). In 1973-74 I returned to Alaska to conduct eight months of investigation into the total game repertoire of Eskimos in Tununak, on Nelson Island.

The cultural context of games must be understood in order to answer questions regarding the relationship of games to other cultural elements. For this reason, it was important to provide a brief ethnography of the village in which the study was conducted, particularly since no ethnography exists for the island and the surrounding mainland.

Research into games themselves proceeded on two basic assumptions. The first is that games are expressive behavior and, as such, will reflect the values of the society in which they are played (Norbeck n.d., Roberts, Arth, and Bush 1959). The second assumption is that games prepare children for adult society by (a) serving as "rehearsals" for adult statuses and roles, and (b) by inculcating values paramount in adult society.

I was dealing, then, with games of both adults and children as reflections of cultural values, and with children's games as role rehersals. A study of cultural values in Tununak was fundamental to this report and formed a major part of ethnographic research. The values I perceived operating in the community were compared to those reported by ethnographers in other Eskimo villages. Additional information on my research into cultural values will be discussed in Chapter VI.

Basic questions I wished to answer relative to the above assumptions were the following:

1. Which values, in particular, are expressed in games of children and adults, and which are not? Thus, which values learned by children are expressed in their games?

2. Are these same values reflected in other behavior?

3. Which roles in a society are learned by playing games?

In addition to answering these questions, I wished to test two hypotheses:

I. The role structure of society will be reflected in the role structure of games; thus, when a significantly new

role structure is introduced into a society, that new structure will be reflected eventually in the structure of the games played by its members.

II. When significantly new values are introduced into a society, those new values will be reflected in games played by children.

I also planned to collect descriptions of all games, both old and new, played by the people of Tununak, a goal stimulated by the following statement by Roberts, Arth, and Bush (1959: 598).

> It is plain that while widespread interest in games can be easily documented, the systematic description of all the games played by the members of a tribe is by no means common in the ethnographic literature.

The study of culture change in roles and values in this dissertation is based on a comparison of the roles and values of early contact society as reported in the literature and by older Eskimos in Tununak with those I perceived operating in Tununak in 1973-74.

The limitations of this study should also be noted. I have not attempted to test previous theories of games as they are related to child rearing practices, age-stage development, cultural disadvantage or deprivation, religious beliefs, folklore motifs, or other cultural elements. I hope to make such comparisons of my work to that of other scholars in later publications. In this study I am viewing games as consistent elements in social structure rather than as activities functional for the individual

The following model (Table I) was found to be useful in the role analysis of games and was modified for use in game role analysis from a paradigm employed by J. Ingersoll (1963) and later adapted by D. Hughes (1970). Role structure, interaction pattern, and power functions of game positions were analyzed for each game, using the model. Examples of specific game analyses can be found in Appendix D.

Discussion of the Model and Its Application

Role relationship. This deals with the organization and number of players as well as their relationship to each other and to the audience, if one is present. The organization of players is presented in terms of teams, central persons with undefined number of role others, pairs, and so forth. If there is a central person, the relationship of the other players to him is defined; for example, are the other players potential central-persons? If an audience is present, does it consist of potential players (e.g., "bench warmers")? One of the central hypotheses of this research is that models which express these relationships may be the same as structural models in the wider society.

TABLE 1

MODEL FOR ROLE ANALYSIS OF GAMES

ROLE RELATIONSHIPS (structure)

1. Relation of actor(s) to audience (if present)
2. Relation of actor to other actors (focal role to counter roles)
3. Organization of teams

ROLE EXPECTATIONS

1. Consensus of players
2. Consensus of audience in regard to players

ROLE BEHAVIOR (style of performance)

1. Control
   a. type
   b. amount
2. Role distance
3. Role attachment
4. Role conflict
5. Interaction effects

ROLE RECRUITMENT

1. Social prestige
2. Playing competence
3. Game mechanisms (internal)

ROLE FUNCTIONS

1. Eufunction
2. Dysfunction

ROLE CLOTHING AND ROLE SIGNS

1. Names
2. Equipment
3. Costume or dress

SITUATION OF INTERACTION (setting)

1. Spatial
2. Temporal
3. Movement pattern and direction

Specifically, the complexity of the model may be similar in games and in society at large.

Role expectations. In most games there are definitions for the proper behavior of players. Thus, the central person must direct and guide the game if that position is one of power. Players must follow the rules, show good sportsmanship, etc. Specific types of behavior are expected with regard to each game. In gathering data on the expectations of player roles, one should ask the players to define their criteria for each position. Comparisons of their responses should provide the degree of consensus. Although questions must necessarily be specific for each game, the following was used as a general base from which to begin.

1. What does position A do? (run, jump, sing, tackle, etc.?)

2. How long does he have to do this (i.e., specified time limit or until the task is completed)?

3. How does he treat position B? (C? D?, etc.)

4. Does he treat some B's differently from others? (or C's or D's, etc.)

5. On what does this differential treatment (if any) depend?

6. What makes a "good" A?

7. What is a "bad" A?

Gathering consensus from the audience should involve asking similar questions. Each game would demand specific questions which can only be formulated after the game has been observed. In eliciting expectations, one must be careful to note when and if expectations differ according to sex, age, or other factors. That is, one must determine if expectations apply solely to the position or are somewhat affected by the incumbent of the position.

Role behavior. This aspect deals with the actual behavior (role enactment) of game participants. There is often discrepancy between ideal behavior (expectations) and the actual behavior. Some players cheat or in other ways break the rules, display poor sportsmanship, etc. The interaction of all the players will have a great effect upon the actual playing of the game. For example, good friends may not tackle each other as hard as they would their "enemies." One player's treatment of another may have an effect on the other's response. The amount of control one player has over another may have as much to do with players' personalities as it does with game positions. The type and amount of this control will have ramifications for the interaction of the entire encounter. Likewise, the attachment or distance players have to their roles will influence their interaction with other players.

Role distance (Goffman 1961) may be employed in impression management. For example, the "bully" playing the American game Mother-May-I may be allocated a subordinate role and may evidence disdain for the game itself by acting "silly" and pretending to be really above this "kid stuff." His followers may then begin acting the same way. Or, if the bully is unpopular, the others may ignore him and increase the dramatic effects of their own performances to show that they really are having fun. Role attachment may be related to the particular role. Thus the game leader or central-person may show more attachment to his role than he would if he were merely a member of a team. Or, for example, if the bully becomes the leader or central-person, his attitude may change because he is playing a role more consistent with his self-image. Role embracement carries this identification further, as in the case of the school team's football hero, the star quarterback who likes to be identified as the star quarterback wherever he goes, and so on.

Still other factors which may affect behavior in role enactment are the influences of other roles. Being male or female, younger or older, skilled or unskilled may significantly affect a performance. It may lead, in fact, to role conflict as when, for example, a girl does not play the "it" role in tag aggressively, when she wants to appear "feminine" in the presence of her boyfriend.

Role recruitment. How are positions in a game filled? What factors external to the game affect allocation of positions? Three variables can be identified which may influence the allocation of positions.

1. Internal game mechanisms--such as counting-out rhymes, drawing straws, or being the "it" because you are tagged by the former "it"--are a few of the ways in which the game rules themselves determine the allocation of positions.

2. Playing competence, on the other hand, considers the qualities of the potential incumbents in role recruitment. In this method, simply, the players who are the most effective performers of certain roles are selected by the other players for certain positions.

3. Social prestige of individuals may also influence allocation of positions (Sutton-Smith and Gump 1955). In this case one's status and prestige outside the game are brought into the realm of the game; this is an example of failure to maintain strict role segregation. A popular person, for whatever reasons, may be allocated game positions of leadership or prestige as a "vote of confidence" by the other players. The qualities which define the person of prestige should be researched.

In one study of status, researchers found that children were able to classify each other, with surprising consensus, as fortunists--those who rely on luck for success, as potents--those who apply physical power in attempts at success, and as strategists--those who try to succeed by making wise decisions (Sutton-Smith and Roberts 1964). These categories were derived from the three major types of games: games of chance, games of physical skill, and games of strategy (Roberts, Arth, and Bush 1959).

Role functions. Games provide children with opportunities to practice being someone they are not ordinarily. This may be therapeutic, as when the unsuccessful, shy child can pretend to be powerful when he is a central person. It may also be a means of socialization of children, as when they can rehearse roles they will later hold as adults. Dysfunction is an area of game research which has largely been ignored. It has been felt that games provide positive learning situations and opportunities to resolve conflict, without any negative after effects. However, there may be dysfunctional aspects of games, particularly with regard to competition. By encouraging winners, do we place unnecessary psychological stress on losers? Do games feed aggressive tendencies in individuals or societies? Does the stigma of being unskilled in games remain with individuals in "real" life? The value the society holds regarding competition, aggressiveness, dominance, cooperation, etc. must be examined to determine whether particular aspects of games have positive or destructive functions for the individual or the community.

Role clothing and role signs. In many games there are no particular equipment or signs to identify players, but in others the clothing is vital. For example, the size, shape, and material of a ball may be quite distinctive for a particular ball game (football, baseball, etc.). The peculiar costume of teams and referees in many games not only disguishes players from audience but also distinguishes teams from each other and from referees. Adding a name to a team may transform an encounter into a group in that team identity may be present among players of such a named team long after each game is over.

Situation of interaction. Under this category would fall many of the aspects of setting for the performance. Spatial arrangements may be defined as in the following cases: playing field; goal regions; safety zones, etc. Temporal limits, if any, will also be defined here. The patterns of movement may be described: does movement converge on the central person; diverge from him; take place throughout the entire playing field; is it constant; sporadic; fast; slow, etc.?

This entire model was formulated prior to fieldwork and was generally useful as a guide to both collecting data in the field and analyzing it later. But certain portions of it could not be usefully employed due to particular field conditions. For example, consensus of players and audience must be learned in interviews, from information based on informants' statements, but formal interviewing was unfeasible

in Tununak. However, the model may be useful in its entirety in other field situations.

Definitions of Play and Game

Among most speakers of English, play and game are used as synonomous nouns, and game is an object for the verb to play. Play has been difficult to define, and what usually passed for a definition until recently was merely a list of characteristics. Johan Huizinga's list list served as a basic model for most definitions: play is a free activity which occurs outside "serious" or "real" life, it has the capacity to absorb the players interest intensely; it is connected with no material interest, offers no profit or gain; procedes within its own boundaries of time and space; it has fixed rules; promotes the formation of social groups which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means (Huizinga 1950: 13). Roger Caillois' definition of game is similar: it is free, that is voluntary, activity, isolated; circumscribed within precise limits of time and place agreed upon in advance; uncertain in outcome; unproductive; creating neither commodities, wealth, nor any kind of new element; unregulated by ordinary laws and subject only to those instituted by the game itself; fictitious, accompanied by an awareness that it is all somehow "unreal" (Caillois 1957: 120).

A contemporary scholar has finally provided a real definition of play rather than merely a list of characteristics, by defining play as a subset of voluntary behaviors with a reversal of normal contingencies of power in order to enact prototypes of experiences in a vivifying manner (Sutton-Smith 1975).

A few modern scholars have made a clear distinction between play and game. While game is a species of play, it is a very particular species; it is more formal in nature (Phillips 1960: 200), is competitive (Opie and Opie 1969: 2), is less ephemeral because it is essentially "repeatable" (Avedon and Sutton-Smith 1971: 7). Recent definitions, too, stress distinctions. Play is defined as "an exercise of voluntary control systems with disequilibrial outcomes" (Herron and Sutton-Smith 1971: 344) whereas a game is "an exercise of voluntary control systems in which there is a contest of powers, confined by rules in order to produce a disequilibrial outcome" (Avedon and Sutton-Smith 1971: 7). Because games are systematic and have a measure of predictability in their outcomes, they are less ephemeral and unique than are other forms of play (Avedon and Sutton-Smith 1971: 7). The study of games can be approached from many directions.

> The term game...is used by children and adults with recreational intent; by military strategists and businessmen to apply to logistic and industrial application; by health personnel to rehabilitative device; by anthropologists to cultural forms; by psychiatrists to diagnostic procedures; by

behavioral scientists to research tools; by educators to curriculum material; and by recreation personnel to program content (Avedon and Sutton-Smith 1971: 1-2).

Most recent social science literature has dealt with game as a form of play which has the following characteristics: competition; two or more sides; criteria for determining a winner; agreed-upon rules (Roberts, Arth, and Bush 1959).

While thinking about games as both cultural elements and as human behavior, I found myself growing uneasy with the definitions of game in the literature. First, the element of competition is not always present in forms of play which I intuitively felt were games, such as peek-a-boo and Ring Around the Roses. In other cultures, we find an absense of competition in forms of play which have the essence of a game, e.g., they are repeatable, systematic and have predictable outcomes. A well-known example is the Tangu game of taketak. In Tangu society, equivalence is sought in all relationships; so too, in the game of taketak a win is not sought by either side; the goal is, rather, to reach a draw (Burridge 1957). There are many examples in our own culture and in others of such non-competitive games, or cooperative games. Many non-competitive games also eliminate criteria for determining a winner, for while there may be a disequilibrial outcome, there is no winner per se. Another characteristic of the popular definition of game which I prefer to eliminate is that of two or more sides. While most games do involve at least two players, solitaire is a game which does not. Explicit rules, a systematic and "repeatable" pattern exist here which make solitaire more than an aimless amusement. There is even an element of contest, against fate or "the odds," although most game theorists do not consider fate or chance a player and thus do not consider solitaire a game (Avedon and Sutton-Smith 1971: 403). For the purposes of this study, I prefer to define a game as the following: a form of play which has explicit rules; specified or understood goals; the element of opposition; recognizable boundaries in time and sometimes in space; and a pattern or sequence of actions which is essentially repeatable.

A form of play: the definition of play which I find most worthwhile is one by Sutton-Smith. "Play is a subset of voluntary behaviors with a reversal of normal contingencies of power in order to enact prototypes of experience in a vivifying manner" (1975). I include the word play in my definition in order to distinguish it as a ludic expression. The definitions which others have offered could equally apply to war, political contests and to other cultural forms; which are qualitatively different from children's games.

Which has explicit rules: it is the explicit nature of the rules which distinguishes games from other forms of play, for while rules govern nearly all human behavior, including play, the participants are not always consciously aware of the rules they are following.

Specified or understood goals: in non-game play, the outcome is not considered; there is no end toward which the players strive, thus players continue playing until they are tired, bored, or distracted. In a game, however, the players are working toward a particular end; the goal is part of the basic structure of each game. This goal may be specified: to tag another player; to reach a certain number of points; to "all fall down;" to win. In other games the goal may not be specified but is nevertheless understood: to cooperate in order to reach a mutual goal (as in storyknifing #25).

The element of opposition: I am not satisfied with the word contest because it may connote competition which is not what I mean here. Rather, I am trying to describe that "vivifying" quality the game contains. In cooperative games, the contest may simply be to do one's best, or to follow the rules precisely. Or, as Sutton-Smith has pointed out, it may be simply an opposition of order versus disorder (Sutton-Smith 1972).

Recognizable boundaries in time and space: by this I do not mean that there are necessarily time limits on games (i.e., innings, quarters, etc.), but that the mood of the players (what some call the separateness from "real life," or the absorption of the players' interest) continues as long as the game is in progress. There is a beginning and an end in time for the game. Sometimes, games have spatial boundaries as well, as in games played on playing fields or games which have "safe" areas, or bases.

A pattern or sequence of actions which is essentially repeatable: it is pattern which distinguishes a game from other forms of play, such as amusements and pastimes. What makes this pattern essentially repeatable is the presence of explicit rules governing the actions of players. A child simply playing with the pieces of a chess game may manipulate them in any way he chooses. He may act out a story with the "horses" and "soldiers," but the next time he plays with these pieces he may use them in a completely different way. But when the game of chess is played, the pattern of movements of each type of piece is predictable. Ring around the Roses is even more predictable.

The remaining portions of this work will consist of several sections. A brief review of the relevant literature on play and games will present the background of intellectual thought regarding play as well as findings of recent research into games (Chapter II). Following that will be a description of field work (Chapter III), and a short ethnography of Tununak as the cultural context for later discussion and analysis of games (Chapter IV). The analysis of role structure follows the ethnography and includes role organization both in the village and in games, as well as the relationship between them in aboriginal and contemporary society (Chapter V). Included in this section also is a discussion of roles acted out in sociodramatic play. Following the discussion of roles, cultural values in aboriginal and contemporary society of Eskimos are identified, and their expression in games is defined

(Chapter VI). The final section summarizes the major findings and provides my conclusions and interpretations for these findings (Chapter VIII).

Throughout this dissertation, names of games are followed by a number in parentheses; this number refers to the order in which games are described in Appendix A, where game rules, goals, players' ages and sex are listed.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Play

For more than a century, scholars have attempted to deal with play as a serious subject. They have sought explanations for the existence of play among mammals, reasons for the correlation between phylogenetic complexity and the increase in time spent in play, and variety of play (Beach 1945; Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1970; Loizos 1967); they have sought functions of play, stimulators of play, and effects of play. Play has been examined from both the sociological and biological points of view.

One of the best-known early theories of play is the so-called "surplus energy theory." It was supposed that because the young are not busy with serious tasks of survival, they have an excess of energy which is discharged in the form of exuberant play (Spencer 1873; Schiller 1875). It was believed that play also serves to exercise muscles otherwise not used in ordinary activities. The sensory-motor benefits of play were stressed in this viewpoint.

The reverse idea was proposed as well: that play serves to revive individuals who suffer physical and mental fatigue as a result of life's stresses and strains. This recreative theory postulates that play restores energy rather than consumes it (Lazarus, cited in Mitchell and Mason 1948).

A third influential theory with a biological orientation was that of Groos (1898, 1901) who believed that the roots of play are instinctive in man and animals. The youth of humans and other mammals exists, said Groos, primarily as a period in which to practice using these instincts or "pre-exercising" them in order to learn what would be useful for later life. Here is where Groos crossed the line from a biological to a sociological approach. He regarded play as essential to learning behavior necessary later for survival as an adult.

Concurrent with anthropological theory of unilinear cultural evolution, the recapitulation theory of play suggested that children recapitulate the phylogenetic transition from animal to human play and repeat the history of stages of development through which culture has passed (Hall 1916). Games were seen as survivals of ancient customs of

a more serious nature, that is, as serious culture traits which became nonfunctional but were retained as games. Such a theory would explain the existence of children's play and games about ghosts, witches, and other supernatural creatures, or play such as archery and dart games which were retained long after those skills had lost survival value in hunting or war. "Many of the games played by 20th century children, even by those of the most highly civilized societies contain traces of very ancient and even primitive beliefs and practices" (Brewster 1971: 14). The original function, meaning, and use were lost, but the form was retained. Early scholars also sought to trace the diffusion of games and game elements from their original sources (Tylor 1896, 1879; Culin 1903).

The theory that games and play are cathartic is basic to most studies of the subject. A cathartic effect of play was recognized as early as Aristotle's time, when he noted that in play the emotions "become purified of a great deal of the distasteful and dangerous properties which adhere to them" (quoted in Slovenko and Knight 1967: xxv). In the imaginary world of play, one can be someone else temporarily and achieve goals outside the realm of ordinary possibility. Thus play constitutes a "leave of absence from reality and from the superego" (Phillips 1960: 202).

> In games a child can exert himself without having to explain himself, he can be a good player without having to think whether he is a popular person, he can find himself being a useful partner to someone of whom he is ordinarily afraid.... In ordinary life either he never knows these experiences, or by attempting them, makes himself an outcast (Opie and Opie 1969: 3).

Modern approaches to the study of play emphasize the social and symbolic value of play and games. The approaches of the major figures in the current literature are summarized briefly below. The Dutch historian, Johan Huizinga, in Homo ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture (1950) was concerned with defining the nature of play, and his work is of significance to modern research for two major contributions: his definition (list of characteristics) of play, which serves as a model for other definitions; and his rejection of the work-play dichotomy. His list of the characteristics of play bears quotation:

> Play is a voluntary activity or occupation executed within certain fixed limits of time and place, according to rules freely accepted but absolutely binding, having its aim in itself and accompanied by a feeling of tension, joy and the consciousness that it is 'different' from 'ordinary life.'

Huizinga recognized the expressive nature of play and saw the same ludic qualities reflected in many other aspects of culture.

> It is through playing that society expresses its interpretation of life and the world. By this we do not mean that play turns into culture, rather that in its earliest phases culture has the play characteristic, that it proceeds in the shape and mood of play (1950).

Thus it is not the play of a culture but the play element in culture that Huizinga is credited with identifying. Games are not, therefore, survivals; on the contrary, play is the foundation for many cultural forms, in Huizinga's view.

Caillois, in Man, Play and Games (1961), was also concerned with the nature of play, and he, too, saw that society's play is expressive of more "serious" interests and preferences. His system of classifying expressive forms was designed to point out these interests.

> The structures of play and reality are often identical, but the respective activities that they subsume are not reducible to each other in time or place. They always take place in domains that are incompatible (1961: 64).

Jean Piaget, in Play, Dreams, and Imitation in Childhood (1951), formulated his theories on the basis of many years of research with children in Switzerland. It is his belief that play is a necessary form of thought which is a substitute for mature, objective thought; thus it is most important for the young who are still learning to overcome their egocentric distortion of reality (assimilation) with realistic accomodation to their environment. Play, like dreams and fantasy, distorts reality, or rather transforms it, to be more agreeable. He does not see behavior in terms of a work-play dichotomy but rather all behavior as more or less playful since accomodation and assimilation co-exist as cognitive components into adulthood; only the balance shifts as one matures. Piaget classified three stages of development in children, stages he believes are universal: the sensory-motor stage (age 0-2) in which play is exploratory and consists of practice play; the representation stage (age 2-4) in which symbolic play predominates (make-believe); and the stage of reflective intelligence (after age 4) at which games with rules begin to appear and take on increasing importance. Because the child is increasingly able to adapt to reality and no longer needs to make-believe, his interest in symbolic play declines as he grows older, says Piaget. Much current research is aimed at testing Piaget's hypotheses cross-culturally.

Erik Erikson (Childhood and Society, 1963) stressed play's ego supportive aspect.

> I would look at the play act, as vaguely speaking, a function of the ego, an attempt to bring into synchronization the bodily and the social processes of which one is a part even while one is self....The emphasis, I think, should be on the ego's need to master the various areas of life, and especially

> those in which the individual finds his self, his body, and his social role wanting and trailing. To hallucinate ego mastery is the purpose of play--but play...is the undisputed master of only a very slim margin of existence (1963: 184-185).

George Herbert Mead's interest (Mind, Self, and Society, 1934) in games was in terms of their effect on personality development. He identified the structural elements of games which affect behavior: logic; procedures for action; interaction patterns; roles; and rules governing actions. It was Mead's view that in acting out roles and playing the game, the child learns the nature of roles. He learns not only his own role but also begins to learn to relate to others and their roles.

In Erving Goffman's studies (Encounters, 1961) the work-play dualism is deemphasized in favor of the interpenetration of both. But rather than an interest in play and games per se, he saw games as models for looking at small group processes, specifically what he called "focused interactions."

Two modern approaches to the social value of play have been carried out in research in Israel and focus on sociodramatic play in children. Sara Smilansky conducted a study of play among children born to Middle Eastern and North African immigrants to Israel, the results of which were published in The Effects of Sociodramatic Play on Disadvantaged Preschool Children (1968). Sociodramatic play is believed to develop creativity, intellectual growth, and social skills in children. Smilansky found that children of immigrants, or "disadvantaged" children, do not engage in the imaginative play which advantaged children do. Rather, the disadvantaged children are more repetitive and realistic both in play with toys and in imitative play (in which they tend to realistically imitate powerful adults). Thus her findings do not confirm the existence of a universal state of symbolic play, as Piaget has defined it.

Rifka Eifermann's study of Israeli children, Determinants of Children's Game Styles (1971), reports results which are in contrast to those of Smilansky. Eifermann's work with over 14,000 children of several socioeconomic groups shows more symbolic play among disadvantaged children than in advantaged children between the ages of six and eight, but after eight it declines among disadvantaged children as it did earlier among advantaged children. In contrast to Piaget's findings that games with rules increase with age, Eifermann found a decline in participation in formal games after the age of eleven.

Games

Inter-cultural Variability

In their study of games, Roberts, Arth, and Bush (1959) classify games into three major categories based upon the dominant mode of competition present in each: games of physical skill; games of chance; and games of strategy. Combinations also exist, in which, for example, a minor mode of strategy is found in games of physical skill and strategy (e.g., football), or chance may be a minor mode in games of strategy and chance (e.g., bridge and poker). In her study of Israeli children's play, Eifermann identified a fourth factor, in addition to the three identified by Roberts, Arth, and Bush, which is a principal outcome attribute in games: memory-attention. Memory-attention games are those which depend to a great extent upon the player's ability to concentrate, to remember, to pay strict attention to what one is doing, saying, or what others have done or said (Eifermann 1971).

John Roberts and Brian Sutton-Smith searched the Cross-Cultural Survey Files and Human Relations Area Files societies which were also rated for child training practices by Bacon, Barry and Child (1952), in the following: responsibility; obedience; self-reliance achievement; nurturance; independence (1962: 168). Relative overall severity and indulgence were also studied, and societies were rated according to negative or positive approaches. By comparing the child training methods with the types of games played in each society, they discovered some interesting correlations. Of the six major child training variables, three could be definitely correlated with game preferences: achievement; obedience; and responsibility. The remaining three (nurturance, independence, and self-reliance) were associated with ludic expressions other than formal games. John Roberts and Brian Sutton-Smith formulated what is known as the conflict-enculturation hypothesis of games (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962). This hypothesis states that the presence of certain games in a culture can be linked with anxieties produced in children as a result of child-training practices. Since it is well-known that enculturation methods vary cross-culturally, it may be assumed that the nature of these anxieties will also vary cross-culturally. This explains, in part, the particular array of games possessed by each culture. This theory is an elaboration of earlier theories which explain games as exercises in mastery; the child who is unable to cope with his "real life" situation attempts through games to achieve some resolution of his internal conflicts by acting out these conflicts in game situation. Through this process, he gradually acquires the skills and emotional confidence to function as an adult. It is a sort of "buffered learning" situation which not only helps resolve conflicts but also prepares children for their role performances in later life. The three major classes of games represent three different models of competition and success (Roberts, Arth and Bush 1959: 185). There is, according to the conflict-enculturation theory, a relationship between the degree of conflict as a result of child training and the complexity of the games. The higher the indices of conflict,

the more complex the game (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962: 81). There are, then, two major functions of games which are closely related: (1) games are a means of resolving conflict induced by child training procedures and are thus a psychological exercise in mastery and release of tension; and (2) games serve as learning situations for the cognitive attitudes needed in adulthood and are thus rehearsals for adult role performance. In both functions, game is serving as a bridge between childhood and adulthood. As Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1964: 14) point out, there is a paradox here, in that games reduce competition (from real life to the play world which is less serious) and at the same time rehearse competition. They recognize that games provide the models for competition which an individual uses the rest of his life.

Games of Physical Skill

Games of physical skill simulate, in many respects, combat and hunting. A tendency was found for games of physical skill to be associated with environmental conditions. In cross-cultural studies, it was learned that of 23 societies living within 20 degrees latitude of the equator, 18 have fewer than 5 games of skill. Among those tribes living beyond 20 degrees latitude of the equator, 15 of 24 tribes have more than 5 games of physical skill. This area of game research has yielded tentative conclusions that there is a correlation between games of physical skill and mean annual temperature, latitude, environment and possibly protein and fat content in the diet (Roberts, Arth, and Bush 1959: 604). However, there is no data available or the correlation of games of physical skill with types of economic patterns.

These were found in association with child training which places high emphasis on achievement and provides reward for achievement (significant at the .01 and .02 level; Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962). As noted earlier, games of physical skill were related to environmental setting. One might draw the conclusion that since games are exercises in mastery, physical skill may be related to the nexus of self with the environment (Roberts, Arth and Bush 1959; Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962). Another interesting finding is that tribes possessing many games of physical skill tend to have folktales which emphasize independence (Roberts, Sutton-Smith and Kendon 1963).

Games of Chance

Games of chance appear to be related to beliefs in the supernatural and to other expressive behavior of a religious nature. In many societies, results of games of chance are attributed to supernatural forces or intervention (Roberts, Arth, and Bush 1959: 603). Furthermore, games of chance appear more frequently in societies whose economic systems are based on gathering, hunting, and fishing as compared to societies practicing animal husbandry or agriculture. Using χ^2, this relationship between game types and subsistence type was found to be

significant at the .001 level in a sample of 331 societies taken from the Ethnographic Atlas (Blaine 1966: 34).

When societies possessing games of chance were compared with those which do not possess games of chance, relationships were found with child rearing emphasis upon responsibility, that is, reward for responsibility and high frequency of responsibility (significant at the .05 and .10 level; Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962: 171). Additionally, these societies evidence some anxiety about the performance of achievement (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962: 173). This may be attributable in some cases to the "low status drudgery" associated with responsibility training.

> Responsibility training is the inculcation of a necessary routine which allows little scope for personal initiative or autonomy. That chores and economic tasks must be done is self-evident, and punishment for not doing them is apparently unnecessary, since chance playing is not coupled with anxiety about non-performance of a responsibility (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962: 179).

Other correlations between games of chance and socialization procedures have been found: societies possessing games of chance tend to have a low potential for early sexual satisfaction; high anxiety in regard to sexual socialization and aggression socialization; low constancy of presence of nurturing agent; no segregation of adolescent boys although there is segregation of girls at menarche; and absence of male initiation rites and genital mutiliation (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1966: 137). There is early indulgence of children in cultures possessing many games of chance. It has been found that such games are attractive to children if they feel a lack of power to master their physical, social and cultural environment through the use of physical skill or strategy (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1966: 131). Games of chance are found in cultures which also have folktales of nurturance.

Games of Strategy

Games of strategy are found among societies which have reached a high level of complexity and have these characteristics: intensive agriculture and animal husbandry (i.e., high dependence on food production rather than food collection); high political integration; crimes punished by the government; high social stratification; specialized technology, including metallurgy; large, permanent communities; and high gods, both otiose and active (Roberts, Sutton-Smith and Kendon 1963: 187). Fewer societies play games of strategy than play games of physical skill and chance; and this fact coupled with the level of complexity associated with the presence of games of strategy led to the conclusion that games of strategy appeared relatively late in human history. Games of strategy are, as would be expected, found in societies which possess strategic themes in other expressive behavior.

A specific comparison of the strategic element in games and folktales carried out by Roberts, Sutton-Smith and Kendon (1963) supports this hypothesis. Games of strategy simulate battle and war, and they appear to be important in a strategic decision-making role.

These games, found in relatively complex societies, are linked with training which emphasizes obedience (Roberts, Sutton-Smith and Kendon 1963: 189). The explanation for this association is that complex societies demand more from the adult; he must know how and when to obey or disobey, and when and how to command. Decision-making, discernment and foresight are qualities demanded by a complex society. Obedience training is believed to produce such qualities and ensures that the largest numbers of adults socialized to life in a complex society will be produced (Roberts, Sutton-Smith and Kendon 1963: 189). "Indeed, it is virtually certain that every complex social system makes certain demands on obedience (with a corresponding emphasis on commanding or managing)" (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962: 170). Games of strategy then, may be viewed as exercises in mastery of the social system. Reward and punishment are both part of obedience training, reward for obedience and punishment for disobedience. Conflict over obedience is high. On the whole these societies are less indulgent than others in their enculturation practices (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962: 171). Studies in the United States add to these data. Roberts and Sutton-Smith point to "Miller's finding that in the United States there is a greater tendency in the middle class (than in the lower class) child training for reasonable requests for obedience to be associated with severe toilet training and severe weaning, together with the use of psychological controls and symbolic rewards. Middle-class families, he found, also show a preference for conceptual rather than physical recreations" (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962: 172).

In addition, games of strategy have been correlated with economic patterns of 331 societies in the Ethnographic Atlas which were studied (Blaine 1966: 35). Games of strategy were present in 80 societies which practiced animal husbandry or agriculture and were absent in 51 such societies, while in societies practicing hunting, fishing, or gathering, games of strategy were present in only 1 and absent in 217. (The relationship between subsistence economy and games of strategy was found to be significant at the .001 level, uxing χ^2 or Fisher's exact probability test.)

Combination Games

It has been found that in societies which possess all three types of games, anxiety is shown over performance of achievement, and conflict over achievement is presented. "Since games of chance and strategy are symbolic forms of competition, a relationship is established between anxiety over achievement and symbolic forms of competition" (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962: 1974). Games which combine physical skill with

strategy (the most complex forms of physical skill games) are present where there is anxiety over the non-performance of achievement and punishment for not achieving (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962: 174).

In this summary we have seen that the game theories of mastery and of conflict-enculturation can work together to yield data relating games of physical skill to mastery of the environment and socialization practices stressing achievement training, relating games of chance to mastery of the supernatural and socialization emphasizing responsibility, and relating games of strategy to mastery of the social system and training for obedience (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962). Furthermore, strategy is associated with obedience but not with responsibility or achievement training, chance is associated with responsibility but not with obedience, and physical skill is associated with achievement but not with obedience or responsibility (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962).

Intra-cultural Variability

In comparing game preferences with socialization practices, one can find games varying according to the sex, age, role and status of the players. Most studies dealing with these relationships have been carried out by psychologists and sociologists in America and Western Europe. Not only do the child's own preferences vary with age, sex and status within his peer group, but in some societies adult notions regarding the propriety of certain games is related to the sex, age, health, intelligence and social status of the players (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962: 167).

Sex

In all cultures, socialization practices are somewhat different for males and females (Barry, Bacon, and Child 1957). In the United States where game preferences of boys and girls have been studied (Conn 1952; Sutton-Smith and Roberts 1964), marked differences have been found for boys and girls. This was predictable in light of what is known about the differences of male and female socialization practices in this country. Boys receive more intensive achievement and self-reliance training than girls, while girls receive higher obedience, nurturance and responsibility training (Bacon, Barry and Child 1957). Predictably, girls show greater preferences for games of strategy and games of chance and less inclination toward games of physical skill than do boys (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962: 176). However, the differences are not so great with regard to games of "pure" physical skill (which are less strongly related to achievement anxiety) than they are in games combining physical skill and strategy, for which boys show a much greater preference than girls.

In studying these preferences, Terman devised a "masculinity index" for games, ranging from 2 (playing with dolls) to 24 (using tools).

Games with indices above 13 were preferred mainly by boys while those with indices below 13 were associated with "feminine" interests. Those with higher indices often involved rough play, strength, and muscular dexterity and had fixed rules; those with lower indices were more sedentary in nature and were played in smaller groups as a rule (Conn 1952: 82). These qualities seem somewhat stereotypic and do not always correspond with reality. An example which comes to mind is ballet which, although it is not a game and was not rated by Terman, is traditionally thought of as an effeminate profession for males. This is a case in which physical exertion, strength, and coordination of the most demanding sort are not parallel with masculine behavior. Ballet is one of the most strenuous forms of activity, but is associated with feminine interests. However, the stereotypes are inculcated at an early age. Witness the following results of interviews with children reported by Jacob Conn: children believe that (1) girls do not play as strenuously or work as hard as boys; (2) girls are timid, fearful, and afraid of being hurt; (3) girls are not trained or skilled to play boys games; (4) individuals who do not conform to sex stereotypes are called "sissies" or "tomboys" (Conn 1952: 87). Girls made statements such as, "It's not nice to play boys' games" or "It isn't right..." (Conn 1952: 95). One girl was asked what would happen if girls played boys' games and answered, "You get arrested." Such attitudes are influenced by parental admonition, toy selection, and examples of peers and older children (Conn 1952: 78). Even the investigators themselves propagate these stereotypes by reporting such things as "Gerald (age 13)...was an effeminate boy who still played with girls and younger boys. He selected as his favorite games, cards, cheese-it, crack-the-whip, hide-and-go-seek, ice-skating, marbles, monopoly, singing games, skipping, and tap-dancing" (italics mine) (Conn 1952: 93).

Studies carried out in a Viennese kindergarten revealed that girls were interested in games of physical skill which led to increased alertness, while boys preferred games of physical skill which increased bodily strength and mastery of the technical (Britt and Janus 1941: 359). A sex difference was also noted in the degree of organization demanded by games. Boys selected games which were more highly organized, while girls preferred more unorganized play (Britt and Janus 1941: 365). Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1964: 24) found that because competitive games appear to be more important in the sex-role identity of boys (especially during the 3rd to the 6th grades) that game choice theories would be more likely to hold true for them than for girls. One could reverse this deduction and say that, since girls tend not to engage in as many competitive and highly organized games, the female sex-role development is less closely linked to game participation.

As cultures change, so do their notions of what is appropriate behavior for each sex. An illustration of changes over time in participation of a New Zealand game "Bar the Door" is given by Sutton-Smith (1959). Sociological changes in New Zealand culture had led to an increase in female participants in the game; New Zealand has changed from sex-segregated schools to integrated ones, for one thing.

Age

The age at which certain games are played is in part based on assumptions about the appropriate activities for stages of development. "A particular game is sanctioned if the situation it is designed to master is one which is recognized as legitimate at a certain age. It is not sanctioned if the situation is one which the child is expected to have mastered earlier in life" (Phillips 1960: 203). Children under 10 play simple games of strategy, such as checkers and tick-tack-toe, but it is believed by Piaget and others that it is not until after ages 10 or 11 that children achieve the theoretical capacity and the ability to manipulate deceptive strategies (Roberts, Sutton-Smith and Kendon 1963: 197).

Stewart Britt and Sidney Janus (1941: 366) in their report on the findings of Lehman and Witty tell us that studies of social participation and age reveal a large number of activities with greater variability are engaged in by younger children (under 10 1/2). Numbers and variety of play activities are seen as a function of the age level, but it was also discovered that rural boys participate in fewer games than city boys between the ages of 8 1/2 and 10 1/2, but the reverse is true above the age of 10 1/2. The following periods of development were proposed: (a) motor-level before age 2; (b) egocentrism, ages 2-5; (c) cooperation, ages 7-8; (d) codification of rules by age 11. In game preferences, we find that children 4 through 10 selected games where definite rules were prescribed while children over 10 preferred games with more freedom permitted for the individual (Britt and Janus 1941: 375). "Just as the shy man reveals himself by his formalities, so does the child disclose his unsureness of his place in the world by welcoming games with set procedures in which his relationships with his fellows are clearly established" (Opie and Opie 1969: 3).

Role and Status

In games children are able to assume statuses which they might not occupy in real life, such statuses as leader, follower, attacker, defender, taunter, taunted, etc. (Sutton-Smith and Gump 1955: 172). In these new roles, the player has the opportunity to act out his fantasies of being someone he is not normally. In play the child may perform a variety of roles. At the same time he is learning his role in society. The game is a situation out of which an organized personality arises. "In so far as the child does take the attitude of the other and allows that attitude of the other to determine the thing he is going to do with reference to a common end, he is becoming an organic member of society" (Mead 1964: 265).

In addition to studying how status and role are experienced in game, researchers have also focused on the status hierarchy among children and how this affects game participation. The most basic of these statuses are those of winner and loser. Allocation of positions

in a game is affected in some cases by the status of a child as (1) one who is popular and influences others, or (2) as one who is a competent player (Sutton-Smith and Gump 1955). Granted, the type of game played will determine to some extent how influential each type will be, since some games allow social influence to operate in the allocation of positions while other games have predetermined rules which depend on competence (e.g., the "it" position in a tag game may be allocated by a process which "weeds out" the slow runner and makes him the "it"). That children are very much aware of these differences in social influences has been demonstrated by sociometric analysis. Children can classify each other in terms of the concepts derived from games, that is, as strategists, potents, failures, and so forth (Sutton-Smith and Roberts 1964: 35).

Central-person games of two types, those in which the central person controls the game and those in which the central person does not control the game, were studied in terms of the skill or lack of skill of the central person (Sutton-Smith and Gump 1955). In positions in which they exerted no control as the central person, these low-skilled individuals experienced lack of success which led to intense frustration and a desire to quit the game. When they occupied a central-position role with control on the other hand, they were able to enjoy more success in the game which led to their greater enjoyment and satisfaction in it. High-skilled players did not suffer the frustration of the low-skilled persons in the central-person games of either type, since their skills compensated for the lack of control they held in the low-control type of game. These studies have important implications for educators and recreation personnel whose job it is to lead children in games which are supposed to be beneficial to their mental health. The central person role is believed to parallel the child's conception of the adult figures in his life (Sutton-Smith 1959: 23).

The "winning" child has been compared to the "drawing" child in a study by Sutton-Smith and Roberts (1967), and significant differences in up-bringing were noted. To give an example, winning girls were more "masculine" in their game preferences; correlations between aggressiveness in girls and rejection or punishment (real or imagined) by mothers of the girls have been noted. Drawing girls, those who played competitive games for a draw rather than a win, were more conventional and lady-like and enjoyed closer relationships with their mothers, as a rule.

Finally, game preferences were related to socioeconomic class in the United States, and it was discovered that semi-skilled class child training emphasized responsibility, and members of this group showed preferences for games of chance. Those of the professional class, on the other hand, showed preferences for games of strategy and physical skill and practiced child training which emphasized achievement (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962).

Current Research

The most recent theory of play, and from an anthropological point of view the most relevant, is that offered by Brian Sutton-Smith. His definition of play is as follows:

> Play is a subset of voluntary behaviors with a reversal of normal contingencies of power in order to enact prototypes of experience in a vivifying manner (1975).

His view is that play has two fundamental adaptive functions: to maintain personal equilibrium (a view consistent with earlier psychoanalytic theories); and to generate novel responses to environmental stimuli (1973). Studies of exploration and play in man and animals and studies of human play and creativity provide support for his view that "play's evolutionary biological function is adaptive potentiation through changing the habitual relations between means and goals" (1973: 5). Games, says Sutton-Smith, "represent a more limited adaptive process in which play variation is entrapped to serve more restricted social ends" (1972a: 2). One of those restricted social ends of which he speaks is "the learning of variability with respect to major cultural antitheses" (1972a: 2). Such antithetical relations as pursuit and escape, accumulation and deprivation, acceptance and rejection can be learned safely, harmlessly in games; thus "...the game is an information model and gaming is a concretistic way of processing information" (1972a: 2). Additionally, games offer a means of resolving personal conflicts which arise as a result of child-rearing practices, as was proposed in the earlier "conflict-enculturation" hypothesis. The socialization of both cultural conflicts and personal conflicts in games is explained this way: "...given basic conflicts or crises with which a group must deal, these come to be represented in the antithetical structure of games, so that the players' idiosyncratic variability can be programmed toward the management of that conflict" (1972c: 3).

Sutton-Smith has also recognized that competition is not a necessary criterion for a formal game, although an "opposition of forces" is basic, even in cooperative games. His new classification of games is based on the fundamental antitheses present. The basic antithesis is that of order versus disorder. Subsumed under that are two classes: approach-avoidance (relations with other people) and success-failure (dealing with impersonal obstacles). His diagram of this system is reproduced below (1972a: 3):

order-disorder

approach-avoidance			success-failure	
accept reject	pursue escape	attack defend	accumulate deprive (chance)	rehearsal unpreparedness (skill)

Summing up his own views, Sutton-Smith says,

> ...the present view of games is that primarily gaming is first and foremost a novel epistemic process. It is a process of abstracting and comprehending cultural crises by casting them in the form of ludic antitheses. Furthermore, the inherent attraction in this symbolization lies in the opportunities for indulgence of these antitheses in manners usually unobtainable outside of the games. Whether or not such a gaming process comes into existence, however, will itself be dependent on the larger cultural setting and the need to socialize members with respect to recurrent crises (1973: 10).

In 1969 a study of Eskimo games was conducted at Inuvik in the Mackenzie River delta region of Canada. The results of the investigation formed part of the doctoral dissertation of Robert G. Glassford (1970), and it seems pertinent to discuss his significant findings here. His primary goal was to determine the relationship of game organization patterns to economic patterns and social structure by comparing the specification of goals and strategies in each. He was particularly interested in comparing and contrasting the childhood (ages 10-20) game preferences of three generations of Eskimos to demonstrate that changes in preferences were related to culture change as a result of contact with Euro-Americans. The three generations compared were the Traditional Generation (age 50 or older in 1969), the Culture Conflict Generation (between 25 and 49 years of age in 1969), and the New Era Generation (ages 10-20 in 1969).

Glassford proposed a new classification of games based on specification or non-specification of goals and strategies which is reproduced below.

	Specified goals	Unspecified goals
Specified strategies	Games of individual self-testing	Cooperative games (non-zero sum games)
Unspecified strategies	Competitive games (zero-sum games)	Amusements or diversions

Glassford's classification of play (1970: 145)

He hypothesized that because of the aboriginal cooperative sharing patterns in economic activities, Eskimos of the traditional generation preferred cooperative games in their youth more than did the other two younger generations. Cooperative games were those in which players "have complementary or shared goals, and who form a coalition wherein specified strategies are designed or adhered to in order to create a

harmonious blending of effort so as to permit the achievement of goals by all of the players concerned" (1970: 10). Additionally, the Traditional Generation, who grew up in a culture in which division of labor was low and economic activities were characterized by short-range goals and few-step operations, would tend to prefer games of the individual self-testing type, i.e., games in which both goals and strategies are clearly specified and involve short-term, few-step operations. The New Era Generation, on the other hand, because of extensive contact with Euro-Americans and their competitive ethics, would prefer competitive games, i.e., games in which what is gained by the winner is lost by the loser or losers (zero-sum games), thus the goal is specified, although strategies to achieve the goal are unspecified. He found that game descriptions of all generations of Eskimos fell into his classification system in the following proportions: 66% of games played were of the individual self-testing type; 31% were competitive games; and 3% were cooperative games.

His findings generally supported his hypotheses. The Traditional Generation, in their youth, did prefer cooperative games and games of individual self-testing more than did the Culture Conflict Generation or the New Era Generation. The New Era Generation were shown to prefer competitive games more than did the other two older generations. However, few cooperative games were played by any of the three generations.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Site Selection

During graduate work and teaching in Alaska in 1968-1971, I had occasion to travel in several parts of the state and had conducted a brief field project in St. Mary's village on the Yukon River. My experiences, the advice of other anthropologists, and the scarcity of investigations among southwestern Alaskan Eskimos led me to select the southwestern coastal region for further study. I was advised by experienced Alaskan ethnographers that the least acculturated Eskimos inhabited the coast between the mouths of the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers. Dr. Wendell Oswalt (pers. comm.) informed me that no ethnographic investigations had been conducted on Nelson Island and that this was one of the most conservative and isolated areas of Eskimo habitation in the state of Alaska. There have been brief visits by ethnographers to Nelson Island: E. W. Nelson, for whom the island is named (Nelson 1882: 669) was there for several days in December 1878 and made notes for his 1882 and 1899 publications; T. Stewart and H. Collins travelled through the area in 1927 (Hrdlicka 1930); F. Waskey noted his impressions of the island in a brief article (1946); Margaret Lantis was stormbound for 10 days in 1955 (pers. comm.); and W. Oswalt visited several villages in the 1960's (pers. comm.).

This area of southwestern Alaska has been one of the last to be exposed to the outside world, primarily, I think, because of its lack of commercially exploitable resources and the shallowness of waters off the coast. No gold prospectors, whalers or fur trappers descended on this area in hoards as they did in so many other Eskimo communities in the past, although there was a small military unit in the area for a short time in the late 1940's or early 1950's (informants' statements on this point were unclear). Itinerant Roman Catholic missionaries have been in varying degrees of contact with Nelson Islanders since the 1890's, but their influence was a gradual one, as evidenced by the fact that shamanism as a viable religious practice has disappeared only within the memory of middle-aged informants, and it still continues in the realm of healing. Anglo-American school teachers have been teaching since the 1920's, and earlier in this century a Northern Commercial Company store was operating for awhile; it closed in 1938, presumably because of lack of sufficient business to maintain it (Kitchener 1954: 143). But compared to many other Alaskan Eskimo coastal communities,

particularly those on the northwestern coast, Tununak has been left alone by the outside world until recently.

What the culture of Tununak was like prior to contact I can only surmise from ethnographies of other southwestern Alaskan communities, since I am the first ethnographer to carry out research on Nelson Island. The closest communities for which we have good information are on Nunivak Island, about twenty miles across the Etolin Strait from Nelson Island, where Margaret Lantis conducted ethnographic fieldwork beginning in 1939 (1946). Otherwise, there is no information from the area surrounding Nelson Island.

There are at present three villages occupied year round on Nelson Island: Toksook; Nightmute; and Tununak; and a fourth is occupied part of the year, Umkumiut. Nightmute had no airfield and so was eliminated as a possible field site due to the logistics difficulties I would have encountered travelling alone. I therefore arbitrarily selected Toksook, a new village founded about eight years ago by a progressive faction from Nightmute. In November, 1972, I wrote to the village council there explaining my research interests and requesting permission to conduct my work there. This was a matter of courtesy only, since at that time there were no rules governing research in native villages in the state. I was due to leave in the late Spring of 1973, and when I had received no reply by March, I wrote again. Shortly before I was due to leave, a brief note from the council arrived denying me permission to work in Toksook. There was not time to write to Tununak, the other likely field site, so on the advice of a long-time ethnographer in that area, I simply left for Tununak and arrived unannounced to seek permission in person. Permission was granted, and both field seasons were conducted there. However, during the time I was in Tununak for the first season, Calista Corporation and other native organizations resolved officially that no further research of any kind could be conducted on native lands or in villages without prior written permission from the local village council on file in the Calista office in Bethel. So before my second season began, I acquired a letter of permission from the Council president which was filed in Bethel. Evidently this rule is not enforced, nor is it even widely known, for several researchers from other disciplines came through Nelson Island in the following year and none had heard of the "law." They were not prohibited from carrying out short-term work even though they did not have written permission. As a matter of courtesy, most obtained at least verbal permission from the local councils.

Field Conditions and Methods of Research

There is currently in anthropology an enormous effort to minimize the "personal" approach to the study of cultures and replace it with a more "scientific" one. To justify research nowadays, we must make claims to rigorous scientific method in both observation and analysis. Usually this means employing statistical analyses, computer readings of

data, charts, graphs, and any use of numbers. The early general ethnographies written by single individuals such as Boas and Malinowski are still considered classics to be read by all students, but such approaches are now deemed obsolete by some of the anthropological community, i.e., single individuals observing other societies and writing their observations in prose form is considered somehow "unscientific." While it is indisputable that such ethnographic reports are prey to the biases, personalities, idiosyncrasies of the observer, in the rush to be labeled scientific, we too often fail to realize that most of the data on tables, graphs and coded ratings are ultimately based on the observations of individuals. My own research has yielded data which are not quantified. What I report here are the findings of one person during eight months of fieldwork in Tununak. I watched, listened, learned, and wrote what I perceived while I was there. I admit that my report on Eskimo society and games is different from one which an Eskimo might write. It cannot be otherwise. It is truly regrettable that a culture's history must be recorded by an outsider, for it is inevitably distorted. The emic approach to anthropological documentation would have been a valuable one to employ in Tununak, but people there are less interested in dwelling on the past than they are in looking forward to the future. Few of them expressed interest in recording their own heritage for posterity. They must be concerned with a daily living and the rush to keep up with changes their lives are undergoing as a result of increasing interaction with "the outside."

My translation of Eskimo culture is colored by my own personal situation while there, a situation influenced by many factors: my sex; age, living conditions; preconceptions; anthropological training; my particular interests; and my effect on the Eskimos around me. My reactions to the field conditions and the field conditions themselves affected to a great extent the methodology I employed in gathering data. For that reason, it is pertinent to describe my situation in conjunction with a discussion of my research methods. No amount of post-field analysis, however it is couched in scientific jargon, should obscure the basic fact that the data I have to work with ultimately depended upon my personal observations of and reactions to the individual Eskimos I learned from as well as the influence of their impression management on me. While the personal conditions of fieldwork undoubtedly affected the results of this study, several points should be made. Prior to this investigation, I had spent three years in Alaska and had conducted short field projects in an Eskimo village. I therefore did have some background on the field situation. Several years of research into the literature preceded my departure for Tununak. And, I divided the eight months I was in the field into two four-month seasons. Between these two periods in 1973 and 1974, I had five months to reflect on what I had learned during the first visit, what questions still remained unanswered and what the second visit should accomplish. This break in the fieldwork was invaluable in giving me more perspective on the research problem. Photographing was extensive during the second season, after the people in Tununak had come to accept me, and photographs of all phases of life in the village provided further information. Finally,

while notes were not taken in the presence of informants, they were dictated by me into a tape recorder or written down as often as possible during each day. When time permitted, notes were typed and indexed in the field, so a current and systematic file of information so far gathered was available to me at all times. Moreover, copies of these notes were mailed periodically to my advisor who returned her comments and suggestions for additional data on particular points.

Participant-observation, the major field method of anthropologists, entailed living with an Eskimo family and participating as much as possible in all activities. At the same time, because I could never be a real participant in the culture, and because I had to learn proper behavior and skills, I was an observer. Trying to balance these two roles, participant and observer, proved to be more difficult than I expected, and, consequently, I was more an observer than a participant. One is a participant only as much as the subjects of his study permit him to be, and after that, only as much as he is able or inclined to be. Nevertheless, in spite of the illusion that the anthropologist is a true participant, it is important that he continue trying to participate, for it is really only in this role that he acquires a "feeling" for the culture he is learning about. To watch is not enough; to do yields understanding. This doing, the process of trying to participate, is what distinguished anthropology from the other social sciences until recently and is responsible for the added dimension of knowledge which we offer to the study of human behavior. All social sciences contribute to the analysis of behavior; only the participant can contribute a personal experience, a living of the processes under study. I must say that it was not until after I had experienced living in another culture that I realized how vital that experience is to the understanding of the principles of our discipline and to the understanding of the role of anthropology in the social sciences. Fieldwork has been likened by one of my colleagues to a conversion experience, one which only the converted really understands, however much he tries to convey to the uninitiated the meaning of the experience.

My initial field season began in late July, 1973, and ended December 1 that same year. Tununak, like nearly all villages in Alaska, is accessible to the commercial passenger only by air. Regular "bush flights" out of Bethel serve the village four times a week, delivering and picking up mail, cargo, and passengers. When I arrived on one of these flights and began four months of living in Tununak, I was prepared to camp for some time until I could find a family to live with, since I had no contacts in the village. I did end up camping for several days until a family offered to let me live with them, for $150.00 per month. I remained with this family throughout my first season.

The nature of my field research methods was affected by the reaction of the villagers to me as a stranger, a woman, and a white person, and by the Eskimos' ideas of propriety. I was allowed restricted participation; I was permitted to observe most of the time; but interviewing proved nearly impossible. This may have been because I was

a stranger, and while the villagers were very hospitable and polite to me, they do not open up readily to anyone, especially not a gussuk (a word meaning both white man and stranger). More likely, it was because questions are considered impolite (Freuchen 1961 says this of Greenland Eskimos as well). They indicated this to me by admonishing their children, in English, not to ask too many questions, though they usually speak Yupik among themselves, by shrugging their shoulders and saying, "I really don't know" to my questions, and by almost never asking me any questions other than, "What are you doing here?" Their reluctance to be interviewed, however informally, seriously impeded my research at first..

Only one or two individuals volunteered substantial information of anthropological value (i.e., information on implicit and covert aspects of the culture). To these I was very grateful, but I fear I spent too much time with them and depended too much upon them, for one of these individuals eventually asked me not to come anymore to visit. The "key informant," so important to most anthropologists, was not found in the first season. There was no single individual to whom I could turn for explanations and answers to questions on every subject. There was also a language barrier with some individuals. I was trying to learn Yupik, but it was a very time-consuming and slow process. After the first few weeks, I realized that to learn it well enough to really communicate with the people would take nearly all of my time, so I gradually began to abandon the study and to rely entirely on English. Some of the oldest people spoke no English at all. The middle aged group varied considerably in their fluency, some having learned to speak it fairly well while they were "outside" in hospitals or in the army. Those between the ages of eighteen and thirty, who had left the village to attend school, serve in the military or for extensive hospitalization, were the best speakers, and some of them spoke better English than Yupik.

The children under 14 were learning English in school, but since it was rarely spoken at home, many were not yet fluent. In a few cases I had difficulty interpreting the meanings of their English sentences because they were not standard English. Because of these problems with the language, because I could not question often without resistance, and because I was invited often into only 11 of the 52 households, I felt that I was not really gaining insight into their lifeways, I could see only one household in action: the one I lived in. In the other homes, when I came to visit, attention was often focused on me. Although I appreciated the hospitality offered in these homes, I did not fail to notice that Eskimo guests were treated much more casually by their hosts.

The children, whom I expected to be my best sources of information, were more difficult to deal with than I anticipated. During the first week I was there, they followed me about constantly, teaching me words in Yupik and vying for my attention. It tired me, and after several days of effort to absorb everything, be sensitive to everyone around me, and to make a good impression, my physical and emotional stamina began

to wear thin. If I went into my tent, they sat just outside talking to themselves or to me and waiting for an invitation to enter. Their patience was greater than mine; they were always there waiting for me when I eventually came out. Even in the morning when I emerged from the tent, children would be waiting. The exhaustion I felt after days of camping in cold weather and of the almost constant coaching in the language which taxed my mind and made my throat raw made me increasingly unresponsive to the children, until finally, when I became so ill that I was bedridden for two weeks, they left me alone. From that time on, although they still followed me about in the village, they were quieter and more self conscious when I was with them.

When I first arrived, I requested permission from the village council president to stay in the village and to carry out my studies. I do not think the majority of people ever understood what my purpose there was. I tried again and again to explain to people why I was there, and midway through my stay when it was evident that many still did not understand my role, I posted an open letter on the bulletin board in the post office. But people still asked me why I was there, perhaps just to hear it in my own words. Near the end of my stay when one of my good friends had been elected to the presidency of the village council, I learned that the previous president had written a series of letters to various state officials including a judge in Bethel asking if they knew who I was and why I was in Tununak. Although this shocked and hurt me, it was not inconsistent with the general suspicion people seemed to have of me. Children echo what their parents say at home, and during my early weeks, I was asked by children, "Are you a spy?" I initially though this was childish exaggeration until I had an occasion to talk with some school teachers who had spent a few years teaching in the bush. They told me that in several villages, white school teachers and scientists had been asked to leave the villages because they were accused of being spies by the villagers. In one case, a biologist collecting seal skulls was forced to submit his field notes for examination by the local National Guard unit, and when they could not understand what he had written, they demanded his immediate departure. Another story involved a couple of European descent who were overheard speaking a foreign language over a ham radio. These teachers were ordered at gunpoint to leave the village. Whether or not these stories are true is less important than the fact that they illustrate the general climate of suspicion which the Eskimos seem to have for strange white people. I, too, was a suspicious white person. I arrived unannounced and unknown, set up a tent at the end of the village, and had a purpose there which few understood. The previous summer a young white man had done the same thing: he arrived from Bethel; no one knew him; he camped in the village for several weeks and seemed to have no official business there. It turned out that he was wanted by the law. This may help to explain the people's initial reserve.

When I became aware that the polite distance at which I was held was not melting as the weeks went by, I knew I would have to revise my original research methods. That is, interviewing was out of the

question most of the time, and even participation would be limited. Observation would have to be my major method of research, but I was limited to observing what people wanted me to see. What I observed inside houses was restricted to "company manners." Most of what I learned about "real" life was based on the family I lived with during those four months. How typical of Eskimos this family is, I do not know. I know that at times I felt very close to them and that they felt close to me. At other times I wished I could move out, and they evidently felt equal disenchantment. But surface politeness was maintained on both sides, so no open conflict ever disturbed our relationship. The indications of their disenchantment with me came in subtle, indirect ways. My feelings about them were expressed by my withdrawal from family life and only minimal communication with the family members during the hours or days I was depressed or upset. When we were all getting along well, the bonds of friendship transcended the cultural differences we had and the language barrier so successfully that at these times I imagined myself to be a true participant.

I was invited to live with this family when the eldest daughter, aged 11, learned that I was looking for a home with a family. She asked her parents if I could live with them, and they agreed. I shall never know why they consented. They had not yet met me, and although I mentioned to the daughter that I was willing to pay room and board, I do not think that was the primary reason they took me in. The mother told me when I first came over that she wanted me to stay with them because she knew what it is like to be away from home in a strange place. She had spent three years in a hospital in Anchorage, recuperating from tuberculosis as a young adult. She knew firsthand about culture shock, difficulties in cross-cultural communication, homesickness, all the feelings I was to experience during my fieldwork. As an adult, she had spent still more time in the hospital and had sympathy for me, a foreigner in Tununak as she had been a foreigner in Anchorage. Moreover, she said she was often lonely herself even now because her husband was often out in the evenings, and she would enjoy some company. For whatever reasons she invited me to live with them, I was immensely relieved to at last have a warm, dry place to live and a family with which to identify. Those days in the tent had been very difficult for me both emotionally and physically, and that time took its toll on me. I was ill for two weeks afterwards.

At first I slept on the floor of the kitchen area, but about a month after I arrived, the family cleared a corner of that area and put up a curtain to partition it from the rest of the room. There was barely enough room for a mattress and a footlocker of personal effects, but the creation of this private space for me helped immeasurably to make me feel that they recognized me as a member of the household rather than a temporary guest. At the same time, it gave me some relief from the pressure of being with people constantly, for when I retreated

behind my curtain, people did not seem to expect me to participate in any activities. A corner of the porch was also cleared and a plywood stall built for a chamber pot. This provided at least a little privacy, since the family pot was in the bedroom area of the house and was within view of anyone in that room. These special areas provided for me set me apart from the rest of the family in a way, for no one else was treated to any privacy, but it was done in a spirit of consideration for me and on their initiative.

Half of the house was partially set off as a sleeping area while the other half was the kitchen-living area. I spent a great deal of my time at home because, as I mentioned, there were only a few houses in which I was invited to visit, and I did not go to homes unless I had been invited. Also, since people in my own house were less self-conscious in my presence, I felt that what I observed would be more "natural" than what I could see in other houses. Finally, the house was a comfortable, warm place in which to listen and watch the children playing. Outside it was often difficult for me to keep up with them, splitting off into several groups and going separate directions as they so often did. The weather on Nelson Island was very cool, even in the summer, almost constantly windy and rainy, and generally unpleasant.

Trying to keep up with the children was one thing, but recording notes in a windy rain was something I found very trying. Usually, I ended up coming indoors and watching children from the cozy comfort of the kitchen table, where I could observe them less conspicuously than outdoors. After a few months of this sort of observation, I realized that I would have to make myself stay outside in spite of the weather because it was not going to improve. It was then that I began staying outside the school building during recess and writing notes as best I could in the cold. I could also, I found, question the eldest daughter in my family because she was an exceptionally intelligent child and, unlike other Eskimos, gave as complete and perceptive answers as she could to my questions. In fact, this child was atypical in yet another way: she herself asked me many questions about my life and life outside Alaska. The whole questioning process was viewed differently by her; she saw it as I did: a way to learn and understand. She gave me much information on children's games and activities. There were only a few adults who were willing to discuss games in any great detail with me, but this young girl helped to compensate for this.

The teachers at the school were the most helpful to me in this aspect of my study; they not only permitted me to be on the school grounds during recess to watch the children but they also invited me into their classrooms to observe any games played. They also told me about recreational activities at the school and about adult Eskimo games they learned in the village they had lived in previously. Most of the time my research method consisted simply of visiting various households, drinking tea and conversing about whatever subjects were brought up by my hosts. Many hours were spent in this manner, and occasionally a good rapport was developed over tea. Notes were later

made on visits. I never paid anyone for information, I never taped conversations during visits, and only once or twice during the entire four months did I take notes in the presence of informants. Usually I relied on my memory later in the day when I could find the time and the privacy to write notes. Although I never lied about what I was doing during those note-writing sessions, neither did I ever say more than "I'm writing" to explain what I was doing behind my curtain. I did not want people to become self conscious. They did know that I planned to write a long report for school which would contain all the information I learned about Eskimo life because I had made a point of telling people. I did not want them to be surprised when they learned that I had written about my findings. I also mentioned to many people that I wanted to send copies of anything I wrote to the village council for anyone to read and comment on prior to submitting it for publication. However, after sending several articles and receiving no acknowledgment or response, I decided that it was a useless exercise to ask for their comments and criticism.

Aside from observing at home and during visits and attempting to participate in my family's life, I attended village activities. These consisted of village council meetings (although I never completely understood the business at these meetings because of my lack of fluency in Yupik, a few friends usually explained to me later what had occurred), evening dances, Bingo games sponsored by the council to raise money, and evening movies. Occasionally I also went to church services. At first I attended all these functions to make myself visible and let people get used to my presence. After several weeks of this I realized that much of my time was "wasted," for the Bingo games went on in the very same way from week to week and cost me a lot of money, and the movies also cost me a lot of money and yielded no new information after the first few weeks of attendance. Although I stopped attending every Bingo game and movie, I continued to attend all council meetings and dances which I knew about.

When I first arrived in Tununak in July, I was the only gussuk in the village. During the school year there are three white teachers in the Bureau of Indian Affairs school and a lay volunteer for the Catholic Church who runs a Montessori preschool. None of these individuals were in the village in July and August. The itinerant Roman Catholic priest, who travels from village to village on Nelson Island, was in and out of Tununak during those first two months, but he rarely spent more than a couple of days there at one time and might be away for several weeks before returning. When the teachers arrived in September I was anxious to meet them but at the suggestion of another anthropologist who had worked among Eskimos, I had decided to avoid associating with them for fear of losing any chance of rapport with the natives. I had imagined that because of the way I was treated that there was a wall between all Eskimos and all white people, and that if I identified myself with the tiny white community I would never gain acceptance into the Eskimo culture. Moreover, I had the impression from the literature that missionaries and teachers were often "outsiders" in a native community and were

infamous for their capacity to resist learning about the culture even after years of residence within it. It was several months before I realized how wrong I was about the position of the other gussuks in Tununak. The villagers knew one of the Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers who had been there the previous year and the missionary who had lived and taught there for five years. These two were liked and respected by the villagers, from all I could learn, whereas the new teachers were treated with the same polite restraint that I was. There were subtle references to the new teachers' differences from the previous couple who had taught there, and from what I could gather, the people were not giving the new teachers their approval right away. After I realized that the two known gussuks in the village had the trust and friendship of the villagers, I permitted myself to become their friends. It was a very rewarding experience for me personally and professionally. Not only did I begin to enjoy the pleasure of speaking with members of my own culture and to occasionally enjoy the comforts of familiar food and use of bathing facilities which I had so missed before, but these two women were able to share with me the insight into Eskimo culture which they had gained in their years of experience among the people. This meant that a lot of time in learning these things for myself was saved. For example, I was able in one short afternoon to get a census of the village from the missionary who knew every household intimately, whereas it would have taken me days of work to gather this data in a door to door survey, if everyone would have been willing to cooperate with me.

I think that one of the most serious impediments to deeper involvement in life in Tununak was my own ambivalence about being there in the first place. I had feared going because I was aware of the increasing hostility of native Americans in general toward white researchers. I hoped that I could be an exception and find a warm and meaningful relationship with my subjects. But I entered the community feeling shy and afraid. I was aware throughout my entire eight months there that I was looking for signs of their contempt for me. It was only after I had been back from the field for a long time that I was able to sort through my memories and realize that much of the positive encouragement I had received had been ignored by me. When people told me that "There are one or two people who say you are a spy but everyone else loves you" I forgot the everyone else and worried about the one or two. When the council president told me that "It's amazing how well the people have accepted you here. In other villages they are telling gussuks to leave," I thought only about what I could do to make the people like me so they would not ask me to go. I felt embarrassed about my presence there, as though I were a nuisance to them all, so hung back rather than demonstrate the initiation which might have results in more data.

The Second Season

The second field season lasted from early May 1974, until the end of August of the same year, four months in all. There were differences

this time in attitudes on both sides and also in my living situation. Because trying to "go native" had been so emotionally difficult the first season, I decided on my return to rent an unoccupied house and order supplies of canned foods to be shipped in. Although I initially worried that I would miss the kind of data I gathered while living with an Eskimo family, my morale was so much higher because of my improved living conditions that I found I was more receptive to people when I was with them, and I had ample opportunity to record in detail what I learned, so my field notes were much fuller the second season. Rather than searching for ways to be alone, as I had so often during the first season, I found myself more eager to get out and visit. The children sought me out the second season. They enjoyed coming to my house, and although they were usually rather subdued indoors, they occasionally loosened up and told stories or sang songs into the tape recorder. They drew endless pictures and brought them as gifts, and many of them made presents for me so that my house by the end of the season was practically a museum of children's crafts and art. Adults visited too, and I think that having my own house integrated me a little more into the community. The second season was more rewarding to me personally because the people welcomed me back as an old friend and over the summer brought me many gifts of food and items they had made. In fact, the people were so generous with gifts of fresh halibut and salmon that I ate only a third of the supply of canned goods I had ordered. In spite of their warm friendship the second season, I still was unable to question people freely. I no longer interpreted this as a personal rejection of me, which I'd had difficulty resisting the first season, but simply as behavior consistent with their feeling that minding ones own business is best. Because of that feeling, I continued to obtain my information primarily through observations. The lay missionary who was well accepted in the community after 6 years of teaching, provided answers to many questions I could not have asked the people themselves. I knew there were things the people did not discuss with her because we compared notes and learned from each other, but they certainly told her much more than they told me and she had the added advantage of six years of observations. I found her a reliable and honest informant.

My husband joined me for the last two months of fieldwork and was able to obtain data on subjects I could not. He made friends among the young men and learned much about male life from them. Also, his interest in and knowledge of plants enabled him to collect extensive information of native use of local flora. The major event of the second season was the arrival of a key informant. Rita Pitkaoff Blumenstein was a woman in her 40's who had gone to school "outside" as a girl and had married a gussuk whose job took him to many parts of Alaska. Although Rita had not resided year-round in Tununak for over 15 years, she returned with her children in the summers to visit her mother and give herself and her children an opportunity to renew their cultural ties. She had become very acculturated and was eager to tell me anything I wanted to know. In fact, she usually sought me out rather than my going to her for help. I obtained much information of a sensitive nature from her, as well as a fairly complete kinship diagram for the

entire village. She was the only Eskimo who would be formally interviewed, and her intelligent, consistent answers provided me with the majority of my ethnographic data from the second season. She and her mother were our principal sources of information for the ethnobotanical study my husband and I did. When Margaret Lantis had been stormbound in Tumunak for 10 days in 1955 (pers. comm.) Rita had acted as her interpreter. Thus, Rita knew what anthropologists are and had had experience with our line of inquiry. She was also atypical in that she was the only one who did not want to remain anonymous. She said she would like us to use her name in our publications. Because of her marginal position in the community I could not use her opinions as representative, but straight factual data she gave were invaluable.

CHAPTER IV

ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

Physical Setting

Nelson Island is located between the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers on the Bering Sea coast of southwestern Alaska at 60°35' North Latitude and 165°15' West Longitude. Most of the rugged upland portion of the island is composed of Tertiary age volcanic rocks and Cretaceous-age sedimentary rocks which contain abundant plant fossils. The rock formations are exposed along much of the coast of the island in steep rugged cliffs, some of which are many hundreds of feet high. The ridge to the northeast of the village of Tununak is 998 feet high. Several high rock ridges on the island rise to altitudes in excess of 1000 feet. Nelson Island is the highest land in the area because the surrounding terrain is low, flat wetlands, part of an enormous region of deltaic and fluvial deposits several thousands of square miles formed by the past and present activities of the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers. Lowlands are pitted with thousands of lakes and laced with rivers.

The vegetation of Nelson Island falls into three types. (1) On higher rocky ridges is Dryas fell-field vegetation with abundant crustose lichens. (2) Most of the island's slopes and valleys are vegetated with moist shrubby tundra predominantly sedges, such as cottongrass, heaths, willows, grasses and many herbaceous plants. The largest plants are shrub willows. (3) In the flat delta area of the southern third of the island is wet tundra.

About 200 species of vascular plants are known from the island. There are probably more, but the 200 includes all the common ones. Approximately 40 species are used for food, medicine, building material, firewood, basket weaving, leaf ashes to add to tobacco, and so forth.

Because of the lack of long-term, reliable Weather Bureau statistics, the following information on climate was derived from Environmental Atlas of Alaska by Johnson and Hartman (1969). The climatic zone for the area is Transitional, (p. 60) which means that it has characteristics of Maritime climate modified by arctic and Continental Zone influences. Transitional climate has more pronounced daily and annual temperature variations, less cloudiness, and lower precipitation and humidity than the Maritime Zone. Annual precipitation at Nelson Island is roughly 16 inches. There are approximately 60 wet days per

Figure 1 - Map of Alaska

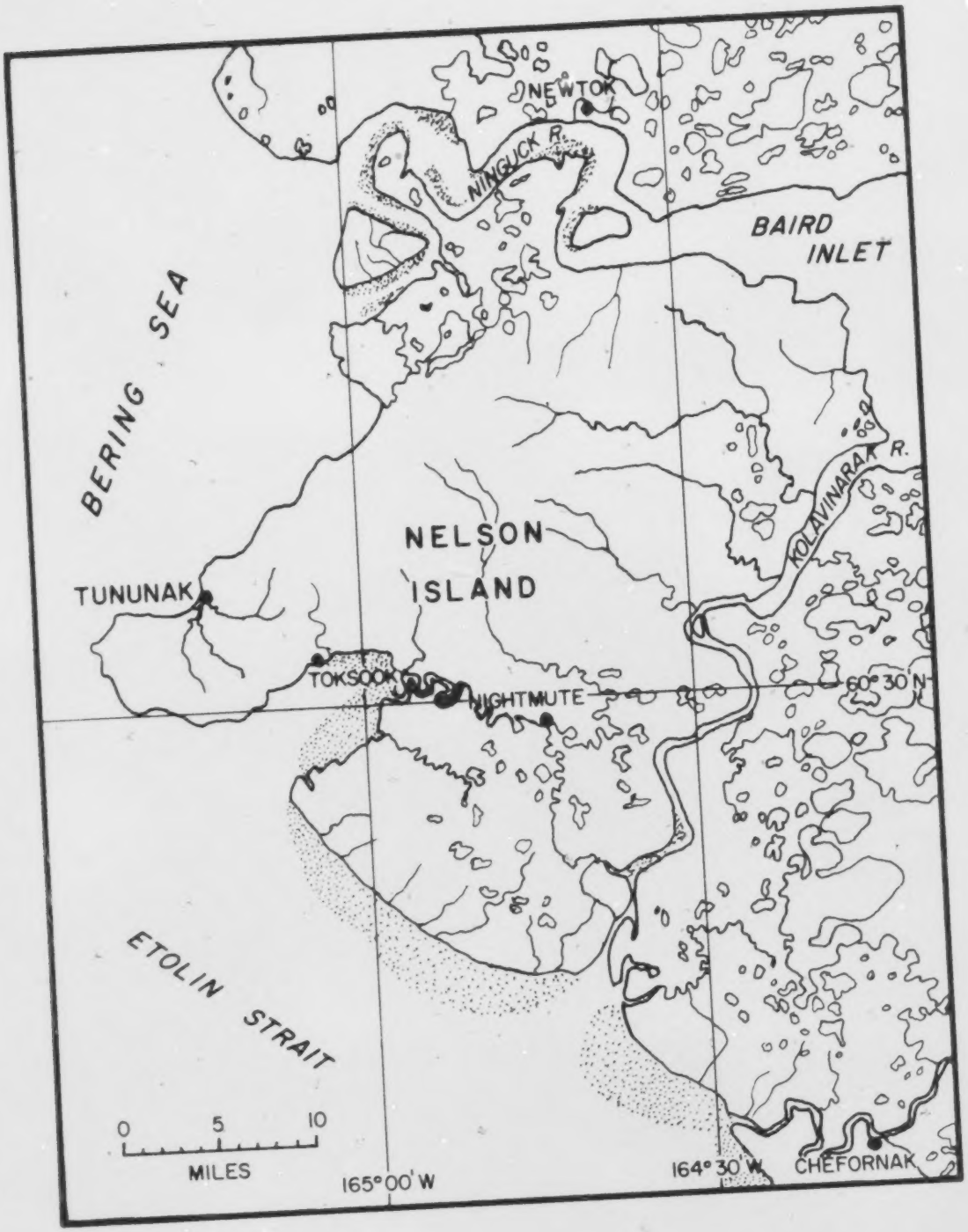

Figure 2 - Map of Nelson Island

year (days in which recorded precipitation is 0.1 inch or more). Snowfall is about 65 inches per year. Mean December temperature is about 10°F; mean July temperature is roughly 50°F The mean annual temperature is 30°F. The Bering Sea freeze-up occurs generally in mid November, and break-up is usually in early May.

Resources and Subsistence Patterns

Resources of both sea and land, plant and animals are exploited for food and raw materials. What the Eskimos gather from their labors is supplemented by supplies sold in local stores, but the people still live primarily from the land, and seasons in the climate regulate seasons of work activities. Modern technology and cash income affect nearly all subsistence activities of the villagers. Men no longer build their boats of driftwood frames and sea mammal skin covers. Instead, they import plywood to build outboard motor boats, import outboard motors to run them, and import gasoline to fuel the motors. The tools to build and maintain boats are also imported. The cash outlay to build a boat in the first place and to keep it running is considerable. Gasoline cost more than $1.00 per gallon in 1974, and one man calculated that it took a full 6 gallon tank of gas to make the round trip to check his nets each day. Nets for fishing are purchased, guns and ammunition for hunting are bought, traps, hooks and lines are purchased, in short, nearly all equipment used in subsistence activities requires cash to obtain. One Anglo-American, calculating the costs of his Eskimo brother-in-law in hunting, fishing, maintaining and buying equipment, and so forth, came up with an annual average of $10.00 a day to "live off the land" (B. Blumenstein, pers. comm.). In spite of these costs, it is still preferable to fish and hunt for food rather than purchase it at the store. There seems to me to be several reasons for this: (1) the store does not stock a complete line of foods, and very little if any, meat. What is there is extremely expensive due to the cost of shipping it by boat or air to the village; (2) the people prefer their traditional diet to most "white man's food" in cans; (3) men still achieve prestige from successful hunts and take pride in their skills and knowledge; (4) if men did not hunt and fish, many would have very little else to do, for only a few are employed full-time--hunting gives them a sense of meaningful participation in life because they still provide the basic diet of their family.

Families who can afford one own a freezer, which makes preservation easier and more reliable (except when the electric power goes off), but costs additional money. The people supplement what they hunt and gather by purchasing food items in the village stores. There is one cooperative store and several privately owned and operated stores, the number fluctuates as people go into and out of business. Canned vegetables, fruits, and milk, flour, sugar, tea, coffee, rice, soda pop, candy, cookies, pilot crackers, shortening, margarine, jam, peanut butter, and condiments such as mayonnaise, catsup, and pickles are purchased as often as families can afford to. Canned fruit is a particular treat.

One store even stocks fresh eggs, potatoes, onions, and fruits. The mark up on all items, by the time they reach the village, is quite high, as much as 100%. A box of pilot crackers, now a staple in their diets, was $1.50 in 1974. A jar of pickles was $1.00. Margarine was 85 cents per pound for the very cheap variety, and real butter was $1.75 per pound.

The environment seems harsh to the newcomer, for the weather is often stormy along the Bering Sea coast and the tundra appears barren. But there is in fact a rich harvest both from the sea and the land, rich in quantity and in variety.

The Sea

Animal life from the Bering Sea provides the most abundant and reliable source of food for the villagers. Except in the worst weather, men are out hunting sea mammals or fishing, or readying their equipment to do so. The early spring seal hunts renew each annual cycle. When leads in the pack ice offshore open, men take skiffs or kayaks out through them to search for the seals. These animals are shot with rifles and brought back to the women for cleaning and butchering. The first seal a hunter takes in the spring is celebrated by his wife who gives a "seal party" for the women. Food and gifts are distributed to all the village women who gather outside her door at her invitation. A young boy's first seal is celibrated by the women's seal party and by the men, who hold their own separate feast in the qazgiq--a traditional semi-subterranean sod-covered dwelling which in aboriginal times was the men's sleeping and working quarters but which is today used mainly for ceremonies and dances. Although seal hunting begins in the spring, seals are shot from boats in open water throughout the summer and fall as well. A man gains his reputation as a hunter and provider from sea mammal hunting, and no other subsistence activity involves the prestige, the pride and the enthusiasm which sea mammal hunting does. An excellent hunter on a good day once recovered 8 seals of the 9 he shot. This was considered an exceptional feat. Seal skins are made into bags, boots and parkas. The skin is usually stretched out on an outer wall of a house or shed, or less frequently, staked out on the ground to dry. In the spring, some seals are skinned so that the only openings are where the flippers were cut off and the opening around the mouth. This whole skin is turned inside out, the openings tied tightly shut, the skin scraped and blown up like a balloon to dry. These "pokes" are used as storage containers for berries, plants, and meat or fish in oil. Formerly, kayaks were covered with seal skin, but nowadays the frames are canvas-covered. The fat is perhaps the most important part of the seal today. It is allowed to sit until it has melted into a golden oil, and this is a basic item in the diet. Seal oil has remarkable preservative properties, and berries, plants, and fish can be stored almost indefinitely in it. Dried fish and meat are dipped in seal oil at meal times, and oil is poured into cooked greens, soups, and is whipped up with a mixture of berries, fish eggs, and sugar to make agutuk, a special

delicacy. Seal oil is also sometimes used as a lubricant on tools and weapons. The people believe that eating seal oil regularly will help keep them warm in winter. Seal oil now is sold by coastal Eskimos in inland towns at $4 per gallon.

It takes one woman half a day to butcher a small seal, but she is usually helped by older children, friends, or relatives who stop in. Meat of seals taken in summer and fall is usually put in freezers or eaten fresh in soup. Much of the spring seal meat is dried in strips over drying racks and is the basis for the diet in late spring and early summer. Seal intestines are parboiled and eaten or are inflated to dry, and later sewn into waterproof rain parkas by the few women who still know how to construct such garments.

The men take other sea mammals in lesser numbers. The walrus is considered dangerous and is not hunted in large herds. Often when men are seal hunting and come up on a small herd of walrus, they will shoot them. Many times these huge creatures cannot be retrieved, so the men simply cut off the choicest parts, the flippers and the ivory, and leave the rest. If the entire animal can be taken back to shore, the men haul it up on the beach and butcher it themselves. The flipper is considered best when it has aged.

Walrus are taken occasionally in spring, summer, and fall. The fat is usually parboiled and eaten as an accompaniment to some other meat or fish. Walrus are not numerous enough in this area to be relied on as a staple food. The ivory is carved by a few men for sale in tourist shops in Anchorage, but only one man has recognized skill as a carver, and carving is not a major source of income for anyone in Tununak.

Sea lion are also occasionally taken in summer. Sea lion is prepared like seal, boiled in a soup. Gray whales have been sighted offshore, but no one in the villages hunts them now. White or beluga whales are taken in the late spring and early summer. The meat is boiled or dried, or in the case of flippers, eaten raw. The skin with fat still attached can be cooked and then put into a poke to store for winter. The men told me that belugas have only reappeared within the last couple of years after an absence of more than 25 years.

Fish are the most reliable and abundant source of food from the ocean. The largest run of fish is the northern herring run which lasts for several days in late May or early June. The run appears in Toksook a day or so before it reaches Tununak, so the villagers know when to set out their nets. Nets are checked at each high tide and tubfulls of herring are brought back to be poured into lined pits along the upper edge of the beach. The women spend from 10 to 12 days cleaning and preparing the fish. Later, each fish is woven at the head into a long rope of braided grass, and the ropes, each about twelve feet long, are hung over racks to dry in the sun. Several people told me when I asked about eating fresh herring, that no one does it because it will make

them vomit. I was never able to learn why they said this; because I knew that some who claimed they would get sick eating fresh herring actually did eat it fried or boiled. The fish are usually ready to be put away in store sheds by early to mid July if they have been hung up by the early days of June. In 1974, the herring came on May 22 and were gone three days later. By June 2, all the fish had been hung up for drying and people were taking them down during the first three weeks of July. The entrails of herring are either dumped in the ocean or fed to the dogs. The eggs are laid out to dry, then stored for winter, when they are soaked in water to soften them, then eaten with seal oil. Since freezers were introduced in about 1970, some individuals have been freezing eggs for later use. Eggs which have been frozen are eaten raw in most cases. Some herring are preserved in pokes with seal oil. However, most herring are eaten dried, with seal oil, and this forms the basic menu in later summer, fall and early winter. Because the weather is so damp, it is hard to prevent spoilage of the dried foods, so often by mid-September there is a coating of harmless green mold on most of the dried fish. The people are not bothered by this, however, and continue to eat dried fish, for many the favorite food, until the stores are exhausted, usually sometime in mid to late winter. Dried fish is eaten both at noon and in the evening.

Next to herring, salmon provide the bulk of the fish diet for the people of Tununak. Salmon are caught throughout the summer in nets set by the men, and are frozen, eaten fresh, dried and smoked. In 1974 the salmon run was abundant, and men were getting as many as nine the first day their nets were out. That year the nets were put out during the first two weeks of June, and some men were already bringing them in by June 22 because they felt they had enough salmon for the year, in spite of the fact that the fish were still running. The fish heads are either fed to the dogs or stored in containers and allowed to ferment for a month or more. "Eskimo cheese" or "stinkfish" has a strong taste and a strong smell which clings to the hands and is removed by rubbing "stinkweed" (Artemisia) on the fingers. I am told that the taste of stinkfish is better than the smell, and it may indeed resemble some cheeses in that respect. A delicacy which is not made much anymore is pounded dried salmon in alternate layers with wild greens and seal oil which is all put in a barrel or poke for several months and eaten on special occasions.

Halibut are caught in late June and into July. Getting halibut is different from other fishing because it requires more than just setting nets and then checking them periodically. Halibut fishing is done with a line from a boat. Many men complain that their luck with halibut is poor, and some families eat only the halibut given them by friends or relatives who have been luckier. Halibut fishing seems to be a matter of predicting where the fish are as well as stamina to sit in the boat on open water for long periods. A particularly successful halibut fisherman had caught 10 between June 22 and July 10 of 1974. These had all been eaten fresh (boiled) or put in the freezer. Also, smelt are caught from the beach with lines, and sardines scooped up in nets as

they come in on the waves near beaches. Sardines are braided whole into grass ropes and dried. In the later summer and fall, some flounder are caught and most are dried. Tomcod are caught in the summer with lines from the beach and also through holes made in the winter ice.

In addition to fish and sea mammals, the ocean provides shellfish and seaweeds. Along the rocky tidal pools at the base of the cliffs to the north of the village, there are anemones and mussels to be gathered. Children are particularly fond of eating mussels and seaweed (Fucus) fresh from the sea. Anemones are washed carefully and cut up to add to soups. Fucus, before air sacs have formed, are eaten with herring eggs attached to them. Kelp is also gathered and added to soups by some cooks. At very low tides, when great mud flats are exposed, the people dig for clams and eat these raw.

Freshwater Resources

The only freshwater plant used is the Hippurus or marestail which is collected from tundra ponds in fall or cut off at the ice line in winter and eaten in soups. However several kinds of freshwater fish provide variety in the diet. Men set nets along rivers and streams in the summer after the rush of netting salt water fish is over. Salmon and trout are caught all summer. From June until December whitefish are taken, first in nets and then with lines through the ice. Children also catch whitefish with hooks and lines in summer from moored boats on the river. It has even been reported by a reliable source that the local men take a rod and reel to sport fish for dolly varden in mid to late summer. Many men travel to Baird Inlet for pike and whitefish in late August and September. These fish are both dried and frozen. Whitefish is considered particularly good while it is still frozen. Needlefish are tiny fish which can be caught in small traps set up on little creeks or with nets in summer, fall and winter. Also in winter through the holes made in the ice, people catch lush and blackfish. When dogs were plentiful to pull sleds, blackfish were an important source of winter dogfood.

Land Resources

Trapping has evidently declined during the last several years. Only a few men in the village still do much winter trapping. Fur pelts and calfskin hides are sold in the native store, so individuals no longer need to go to the effort of trapping to acquire skins for clothing and boots. The need for skins decreases as the people turn more to mail order houses for their clothing. Down-filled parkas and insulated rubber footwear are increasingly popular substitutes for traditional fur garments and "mukluks" (skin boots). The only incentive for trapping now seems to be the cash income it brings to those who have no other source in winter, particularly unemployed young men. Otters, mink, fox (red, cross, and silver) and rarely beaver are caught.

in steel traps. In the winter of 1973, one young man's winter catch of one silver fox, one cross, and 28 reds brought $900 when sold in Bethel.

Animals hunted on the island for food are ptarmigan, rabbit, and migratory wildfowl. They shoot emperor, Canadian Brandt, and white-fronted eider ducks. (They do not take loons, cormorants or pintails for food.) When the geese and ducks are moulting in mid-summer and cannot fly, they are particularly easy prey, but the men also enjoy shooting them in flight since it is more of a challenge. One August trip taken by four men overnight to the nesting areas yielded 70 geese. Nowadays most are eaten fresh or put in the freezer for winter, but a few people still dry the flesh to preserve it. Some men travel to other parts of the coast, sometimes a trip of several days each way, in later summer and early fall to hunt moose which are not found on Nelson Island. The only large mammals on the island are the musk oxen which were introduced a few years ago and are protected by state law. Many Eskimos seem to fear these animals but find them nevertheless fascinating. Musk oxen which have died from natural causes have been eaten by local residents, and one man is reported to have shot a musk oxen out of curiosity to taste the meat, but poaching is rare. The geese and ducks provide the most common and abundant food taken from the land. The use of local flora varies from family to family. Some are very energetic in collecting many of the edible plants while others are very casual about use of plants as food and may use only a few wild greens. Wild celery is eaten raw but other wild greens are boiled before they are eaten, usually cold with seal oil and sugar.

Eggs are also collected soon after the wildfowl arrive in their summer nesting areas. A child's first egg collection is sometimes celebrated by proud mothers. Women usually accompany the young children, and even the men will become involved when they have the inclination and favorable weather conditions to take their families by boat to some nesting area a distance from the village. But the tundra across the river from Tununak also yields many eggs, and the children enjoy searching for them.

Berries are collected by young girls almost daily in August when they ripen, and entire families enjoy a berry-picking outing as a day trip or as an excuse for a vacation, travelling by boat up the coast or inland via the river to good berry grounds. Children usually return from these expeditions with berry-stained mouths, evidence that they eat their fill before their pail is full. Most common are "salmonberries" (cloudberries) and blackberries, with some blueberries.

In the autumn, after the tundra has turned brown, the women search for mousefood. The tundra lemmings store their summers' collection of little roots and tubers in underground burrows. The women search out these stores and take them home to eat in soups. Labrador tea is gathered in summer and brewed alone or with store-bought tea.

Non-edible plant resources are exploited as well. The long grasses which are abundant in the vicinity of the village are gathered when they are dry and brown, in late autumn and very early spring. They are dried and woven into baskets for family use or for sale, and grass is also used to line mukluks and to braid into ropes for hanging fish to dry in early summer. Many plants have a medicinal use too.

Willows are cut, burned, and the ash is mixed with tobacco and snuff to chew. The following is a subsistence calendar, based on statements of the local residents.

January: occasional hunts for ptarmigan, tomcod fishing through the ice.

February: ptarmigan hunting, collecting driftwood, and willow wood.

March: lots of seal hunting at open leads in the sea ice using kayaks or small skiffs. Also collecting driftwood, and hunting for fox, rabbit and ptarmigan, lush fishing.

April: seal hunting, occasional walrus.

May: late May a few king salmon, fewer "red" salmon, some seals, occasional beluga; shoot flying geese; collect grass for braiding herring into ropes for drying; late May collect eggs of geese and ducks. A few young greens gathered.

June: salmon, herring, whitefish, a few spotted seals; wild greens in late June; sea lion sometimes appear.

July: halibut, rainbow trout, dolly varden, pike in late July; wild greens all month; moulting geese in late July.

August: salmonberries, blackberries, blueberries, a few flightless geese, pike and whitefish in Baird Inlet; gather willows to burn for ash to add to tobacco.

September: a few seals taken at sea and near river mouths.

October: gather mousefood; some fishing for flounder and tomcod; seal hunting; women collect brown grass for baskets.

November: trapping mink, fox; hunting for ptarmigan, rabbit; fish for lushfish.

December: fox trapping, ice fish for whitefish, lush, pike, tomcod, and blackfish; use dipnets for needlefish.

The Eskimo Hunter

In a hunting economy where the individual hunter is responsible for supporting his family, it is vital to the success of his endeavor that he have a great deal of knowledge and skill in hunting. There were no communal subsistence activities in this area, and men hunted and fished either alone or with a partner. Neither were there any formalized sharing systems for the entire community, so a man who was unsuccessful in hunting had to depend on the generosity of his relatives for food. A comprehensive study of northwest Alaskan Eskimo hunting and hunters was carried out by Richard Nelson (1969). Although many of the specific techniques and animals hunted are different from those in southwestern Alaska, I believe that Nelson's discussion of the characteristics of the hunter is equally applicable to Eskimos of Nelson Island. The following discussion summarizes the characteristics of the hunter which Nelson identified. First of all, the Eskimo hunter must be knowledgeable about his environment. Not only does his success at finding, capturing, and retrieving game depend on his knowledge of sea conditions, weather, and animal behavior, but his very life depends on this body of knowledge. An individual who is particularly knowledgeable is also one who is respected, and the single most important avenue to gaining prestige among Eskimos is through hunting skill.

Another characteristic is that Eskimos generally tend to believe what they are told, for it is through learning about others' experiences in dangerous or unusual situations that one might be saved in a similar situation. Nelson noted that the Eskimo perseveres in his tasks. While he is in good physical condition, he nevertheless may feel some fatigue, discomfort and cold while out hunting, but he views this discomfort as simply something to be born until a task is finished. He does not normally give up because he is not concerned with his personal comfort to the extent that many white men are. The Eskimo is also wise in expenditure of energy, seeking ways to achieve his goal most efficiently. This requires a measure of planning and foresight. He does not take unnecessary risks for the sake of adventure. He is extremely alert and does not concentrate on one task to the extent that he cannot be distracted by activity around him. Cooperativeness in hunting and travelling is a trait which Nelson discusses and has been widely documented in the literature. While this is probably more true of northwestern Alaskan Eskimos who cooperate in group hunts for walrus and whales, it is a trait also found in the vicinity of Nelson Island when a hunter or hunting partners need assistance in retrieving game, as when they must haul a rare walrus up on the beach. Eskimos avoid conflict by minding their own business. They do not give unsolicited advice, issue orders, or openly disagree with one another, even under conditions of stress. One does not interfere in another's activities or life even when it could help another. The humor which Eskimos find in their lives extends even to misfortunes and mistakes. The philosophy that anger never helps but humor can lighten the burden seems to be practiced here.

Diet and Food Preparation

The variety and amount of food eaten in a family depends a great deal on their cash income. For those with steady incomes from jobs, such as the postmaster, janitor, school maintenance man, school cook, and others, luxury items such as canned foods from the store are common and provide a change from the fish-meat-oil diet which is standard. All families rely on fish and meat as the main items in their diet. Dried fish and seal oil is the most common meal, both at noon and in the evening, in most households as long as the supply of dried fish lasts (usually into the winter). At mealtime, a cardboard box of dried fish, predominantly herring, is brought into the house from the porch, along with a bowl of seal oil. When a meal is cooked, it is usually in the form of a stew or soup, in which meat is boiled with rice, sometimes onions or wild greens and salt. Goose, seal, walrus, and some fish are boiled, and boiling, or, more accurately, simmering, is by far the most common method of preparing cooked meats. Wild plants which are gathered in the summer are also boiled and usually eaten cold with either seal oil stirred in or with milk and sugar. Berries are eaten fresh and in agutuk, the closest thing to a dessert in the aboriginal diet. Agutuk used to be made with seal oil, a little water or snow and berries, with fish roe or bits of fish added sometimes. This was all whipped together for a special delicacy. Today seal oil agutuk is still eaten but a newer variety made with vegetable shortening is just as popular. Shortening, such as Crisco, is whipped up with the hands until it is light and fluffy, a little canned milk and sugar are blended, and then berries are added. This is usually served chilled or partially frozen, hence the name "Eskimo ice cream." Fish, in addition to being dried, is also frozen by some families for winter eating. Frozen bits are chipped off and eaten raw. Some fish, particularly the heads, are stored in pails or tubs to ferment for several months. Other meats which are allowed to ferment to improve the taste include flippers of whale or walrus. Fish and berries can be preserved by putting them into a poke with seal oil. Seal oil is eaten with nearly everything: dried and boiled meats and fish, berries, greens, in soups, and it is heated to fry dough to make an unsweetened doughnut.

Breakfast is usually pilot crackers with margarine, Crisco, or peanut butter spread on them, and tea. Some more affluent families occasionally serve eggs, pancakes, or cornflakes (with hot water over them instead of milk). Much candy and soda pop is consumed by the children. Another popular food item is Crisco. It is used as a spread for bread and crackers, is a main ingredient in agutuk, and is used as a salve for infections.

Settlement Patterns

The 1973 village population was approximately 278, of which 167 were children under the age of 18. For the most part, families are settled permanently. The adults over the age of 45 or so remember a

life of seasonal camps which kept them on the move around the island and vicinity, but this practice has died out as schools, stores, post-office, and other facilities of modern life have tempted the people to stay put. The resources in the area are more than adequate, so there is no real need to travel in order to subsist off the land.

Tununak seems to be an old village; it has existed as long as the oldest individual can remember, and old house pits were found in the course of recent construction within the village. Several families have lived there for at least three generations. Others have moved to Tununak from other villages on the island (some now abandoned) or from nearby Newtok and Chefornak. My information leads me to believe that most individuals who moved to Tununak as adults did so for one of two reasons: to marry a resident and settle there; or to start a new life after the death of a spouse. Several older women moved to Tununak after their husbands died, bringing their children to be near relatives in Tununak, and then these women married local men. The villages of Tununak, Newtok, Nightmute and Toksook are all interrelated in this way: every individual has relatives in all the other villages.

Less frequently there is settlement outside the vicinity, as a few individuals or families moved to Bethel or Anchorage for better employment opportunities or to get a taste of modern city life. Generally speaking, it is the women who move to the new villages when they marry a man of that village, but in most cases they set up a household of their own rather than live with the husbands' relatives.

Some of the older people moved there as children with their parents so they could attend school. Tununak had the first school on the island and thus drew many people when they began to realize the value of education. The school was a major factor in the permanent settlement of some families. Many others, however, needed the help of older children in subsistence activities and took them out of school when they were old enough to work. In addition, some families preferred seasonal migration and did not settle permanently in one village.

Although people from the surrounding villages are related, and there is still much interaction and travelling between them, people of each village tend to look down on the others. I heard comments about how the people of another village were dirty and didn't care for their equipment properly, that the people were backward, and so forth. There was even some feeling against residents who had moved to Tununak from other villages, that they were not quite as good as life long residents. Newcomers often meet with resistance when they attempt to become active in village politics, and a "newcomer" might have lived there for 20 years or more.

Community Activities and Facilities

Houses in the village are individually owned, but there are many facilities provided by the community. A water pipe which carries water from a mountain spring in the summer runs the length of the village. Spigots at intervals provide everyone with easy access to water. In the winter, people now bring water to their homes from the school by sled. Formerly all water was hauled from the river, but since that is also where all sewage and garbage were dumped, health officials convinced the people of the necessity of changing their source of drinking water. A community hall of corrugated metal is a general meeting place, location of the village-council sponsored bingo games and movies, and the site of rock dances for the teenagers. Some meetings are also held in the National Guard Armory, a more modern building of corrugated metal. In aboriginal times, all adult men and boys lived in the qazgiq, a semisubterranean house. When the influence of Roman Catholic missionaries began to be felt in the early decades of this century, men were persuaded to take up residence in individual homes with their wives and children, and the qazgiq fell into disrepair. A few years ago, in a spirit of cultural pride the residents of Tununak restored the old qazgiq, and it is now the location of Eskimo dances and a mini-museum.

Recently the community built a tower to hold a loud siren, ostensibly a fire siren but also used to announce curfews for children on school nights. The native cooperative store is an old structure which is overseen by the village council. A new medical clinic was built in the summer of 1974, and a bridge across the Tununak River to the air strip is planned for the near future. A new post office was opened in the summer of 1973.

Services provided to the community as a whole are the maintenance of the airstrip, medical services by a native health aide, and when money is available. village clean-up services by the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

The community acts as a whole on several occasions throughout the year. The men are mobilized to build new facilities for the community and to unload the barges when fuel is delivered. On the 4th of July, the community gathers together to enjoy games all afternoon. And in winter, the community has a big special dance at which gifts are exchanged.

Politics

There are various levels of political organization in modern Eskimo society at the village level and above. In the state of Alaska, natives are organized around twelve regional corporations. Eskimos of Nelson Island are served by Calista Corporation whose headquarters and officials are based in Bethel. Money from revenues as a result of the

Native Land Claims Act is equally divided among the twelve regional corporations in the state plus a 13th for natives residing outside the state. The corporation assists local villages to select lands under the Claims Act by sending field representatives to guide the local land selection committee. All money earned by villages on state native lands, especially money from subsurface revenue, is not kept by the local village but turned over to Calista for re-distribution to all native corporations equally. There is a local branch of the Calista Corporation in Tununak which is known as Tununurmiut Rinit Corporation (the voice of the people of Tununak Corporation) whose board of directors oversees the selection of lands to be included in the native claims. In addition, once the lands have been selected, this local board will oversee operations when Tununak becomes a second class city, which it did in 1975. Land management and investments will be guided by Tununurmiut Rinit Corporation.

The village government itself is the village council. Tununak was incorporated in 1935 as a 4th class city under the Indian Reorganization Act. I was told that Tununak took this step because it wanted a native cooperative store. An IRA council of five was established at that time and continues today (though once the city becomes a second class city, it will add two more council members). Prior to that time, there was no formal leadership in the village. The village council consists of a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and member, and elections for these positions are held once a year, usually in December. The village council has several functions: to maintain order, oversee operations of the native store, and to act as an organizing force for village concerns and plans. The council appoints a policeman and assistant to keep the peace, a medical aide and assistant who receive minimal training to deal with medical emergencies, give injections, and administer medications prescribed over the radio by physicians at the Public Health Service Hospital in Bethel. Serious accidents or illness are treated at the hospital in Bethel and patients must be flown out on airplanes when such treatment is necessary. The local operator and maintenance man of the Alaska Village Electrical Cooperative (AVEC) is appointed by the council also. The council hires a manager and two clerks for the store. The council also now has an elected liaison with the native corporation in the form of a "business administrator," an individual whose job it is to deal with these corporations.

There is an intermediate level of organization between regional corporations and local councils. This is the United Villages Corporation, a non-profit corporation made up of five villages of Nelson Island and vicinity. This is an autonomous organization set up to deal with the specific problems of this area, particularly those dealing with the Land Claims.

If all of these various political groups were working effectively, many current problems of the Eskimos would be solved, but the traditional individualism of the Eskimos seems to preclude such a smooth

operation. Many individuals are anxious to hold positions on the council or within the various corporations. Whether the attraction is prestige or power or some other factor, I do not know. But few individuals seem willing to participate in carrying out the policies of others in power, thus leaders are quickly discouraged by the lack of cooperation from those they are attempting to lead. The village council time and again has tried to control drinking in the village. Rules prohibiting importation of intoxicants into the village were flagrantly ignored. The council took a more moderate stand: drinking was permitted in private homes, but anyone found drunk in public was to be fined. I never heard of an example of anyone being fined, though there certainly were numerous cases of public intoxication (the same is true in Napaskiak. Oswalt 1963: 68). Those in power were reluctant to alienate the drunk and his relatives.

When one council president obtained funding to build a new medical clinic, he had initial difficulty in recruiting a cooperative labor force to build it. The people wanted a new clinic, a new community hall, and other new facilities, but they stalled when asked to get involved in the building itself. Their sense of community seemed ambivalent. On the one hand they thought of themselves as the best village and gave me numerous examples of their superiority over another nearby village, but within the community there were many factions competing against each other. Accusations were made that people who had moved to Tununak were not suitable to run for council offices because they were not born in the village, and so forth. These disputes also decreased the efficiency of local government because individual personalities often clashed and interfered with cooperation.

Revenue for the council itself, including a token salary for the president, is obtained from profits of council-sponsored movies twice a week and bingo games two afternoons. The profits from movies are minimal, and the bingo games yield about $40 per afternoon profit. Other income for projects and building comes from the state and federal governments.

Family Life

The people see rearing of children as a basic function of marriage, and adults exhibit great pleasure in their children. About a month before the birth is due, expectant mothers are flow to Bethel to stay in the pre-natal home where they are near doctors and the hospital. After the mother and children are strong enough to travel, they return to Tununak. As in the traditional culture, babies are generally named for recently deceased friends or relatives. Most infants are now bottle fed with a formula of approximately half canned evaporated milk and half water, although some are breast fed. They are fed whenever they are fussy and most are not weaned completely until they reach school age. Babies are a source of entertainment for everyone. Rarely are they without attention from someone--a visitor, sibling, grandparent, or

parent. Until they are about five or six children are indulged and spoiled. They can obtain nearly anything they want by crying, throwing a tantrum or demanding, and they strike their parents with impunity. Adults try to control children by distracting them, but rarely do they refuse outright to give the child what he wants. When a child misbehaves, adults react in one or more of these ways: try to distract him by drawing his attention to something else; put on a charade of fear and tell him that something or someone will get him if he does not behave (this someone is usually a ghost or a gussuk); or attempt to instill disgust in him for whatever he wants by making faces and telling him that it has bugs.

When the baby is about one month old, toilet training begins. Mothers learn their infant's behavior signs which indicate he is ready to defecate and will quickly hold him over a metal pot. When mothers become very good at recognizing the child's signals, few accidents occur. Babies and children are neither praised nor punished during this training so far as I observed. Several mothers told me that their children were trained by the age of 9 months, and they indicated that the child deliberately signaled his mother by squirming, wiggling, holding his head in a certain manner, or in some other particular way. Mothers assist babies and children until they are several years old, so children are not independent in using the pot until they are four or five years old.

It was my impression that babies were rather quiet and often passive until the age of two or so. Even those old enough to sit up or walk by holding onto furniture for support were left lying on beds or on the floor, and they usually remained there rather than moving around a great deal. Some I knew were very cheerful, smiling babies while others rarely smiled or laughed. The one infant whose development I could best follow began to walk at the age of 15 months, but she preferred to be carried and often cried when put down on her own to walk. I did not observe crawling in any infant; although one mother did say that her child had learned to crawl, I never saw him move when he was put on the floor. Babies wear cloth diapers which are washed by hand every few days since there were usually not enough of them to last until the weekly laundry was done. A ubiquitous health problem among babies and children is otitis medea, middle ear infection, which can lead to hearing loss and impairment of the central nervous system (Foulks 1972: 116). However, this problem is so common that mothers do not often seek medical attention for the condition. There are other health problems associated with childhood. Impetigo is rampant among children in the summers. In spite of efforts on the part of teachers and medical personnel to convince parents to wash afflicted areas, some parents still believe that to wash it will spread the infection. Or, even when they know washing will help, some mothers cannot bear to hear their children's screams and therefore avoid forcing the child to submit to washing. Children have dental problems because they rarely brush their teeth and consume as much candy and soda pop as their parents can afford

to buy them. Most children are addicted to snuff or tobacco by their teens because they begin to chew it by the age of three or four.

Unless they pose a real danger to themselves or others, children are permitted to do nearly anything they wish. Parents may occasionally tell children to do something or not to do something, but children often ignore their parents or talk back. Parents usually give up if they are not obeyed unless children are causing extreme inconvenience to others or endangering themselves. Occasionally parents lose their tempers and yell at or strike a child, but for the most part parents are very patient, believing that harsh scolding is harmful to the child's emotional well-being. But frightening a child by telling him that ghosts or monsters or gussuks will get him is not seen as a danger to his mental health.

Young children up to the age of four or five are watched by their older siblings and friends outside. Thus they are initiated early into play groups of older children who provide models for appropriate play behavior. Although there were exceptions, most children took excellent care of younger brothers and sisters. At about the age of four, children begin to attend half-day sessions at the Montessori pre-school. After this time, physical affection expressed by parents begins to diminish. Older children receive no kisses, hugs or pats from parents, and married adults demonstrate no physical affection in front of others.

After about the age of eight, children are expected to help with chores, and they begin to be treated more as adults. Boys haul water and empty buckets. Girls help with dishes and sweeping and with cleaning fish and fowl. Parents no longer offer sympathy and comfort to older children who cry--children are ignored when they come in crying, or they are asked sharply what is wrong and told to be quiet. Their mistakes are often laughed at by adults. Older children who do not care properly for a younger sibling or who tease or taunt a baby may be punished by a slap or a sharp word. But just as often the teasing will go unpunished. Sometimes when bad weather forces children to stay indoors for long periods, they become fussy and will get into arguments with each other over possession of toys. When children begin to fight, mothers might yell, "No fighting." But unless they make each other cry or are very noisy, mothers will not intervene with physical punishment.

Both sexes throughout childhood enjoy fishing with a pole and line from a moored boat or from the beach and enjoy bringing food to the family. When a child makes his first contribution to the family's subsistence, his parents often celebrate with a "first" ceremony, which is traditional in Eskimo culture. A boy's first bird, his first fish caught, or his first seal, often shot by the age of 12, are observed with a feast for all the men in the qazgiq. His mother, if she can afford to, may also give a "seal party" for the women. Girls' first eggs hunts or berry picking expeditions may also be celebrated in this way. A son's birthday may also be observed by some families nowadays.

A recent custom to celebrate a child's birthday is to pay the rental fee on a movie and invite the entire village to watch.

Parents rarely teach their children formally. If a child is very curious, he is told, "You ask too many questions." Children learn mostly by watching and later by doing. Parents have told me that it is better to let children learn for themselves. Parents say that if they are too strict with their children and order them about too much, the children will grow up hating their parents. Permissive attitudes toward children's development are evident in parents' lack of concern over sex-role types in young children. One mother told me laughingly that her nine-year-old girl was a tomboy because that's normal for a girl with many brothers. In another family, an only boy of three was permitted to dress up in his mother's clothes, put on make-up, and dance around the room to everyone's amusement. He played with his sisters' dolls and demanded to sew and weave baskets when they did. No one in the family expressed concern over his behavior; they thought it was amusing. But once a visiting neighbor shot me a look which told me she disapproved.

Because of this casual attitude on the part of most parents, many of them have very little idea of what their children are doing in school. During parent-teacher conferences at the preschool, one father was astounded to hear his daughter speak in English, for he said he never realized she had learned any. A mother's face was a picture of wonderment as her child read from her first grade reader. The parents do not often supervise their child's activities out of school either. However, there is praise for a child's accomplishments, usually indirectly by telling someone else.

The children are not being educated in many aspects of traditional culture except those involved with subsistence. Few parents tell their children stories anymore, so many of them do not know Eskimo folklore very well. One mother recalled fondly the bedtime stories her own mother had told her every night, but when asked if she told such stories to her children she said no and shrugged her shoulders when I asked why not. A few children learn Eskimo dancing, but many do not and lack sufficient motivation to learn to overcome their shyness at getting up in front of an audience. Some of their knowledge of Eskimos in aboriginal times is acquired from books in school. They read about Greenland and Canadian Eskimos and tell me that is how Nelson Islanders were in the old days.

During the school year children must be up by at least 8:30 in order to get to school by 9:00. In "my" family the daily routine began with a washing of hands and faces, then breakfast of pilot crackers spread with peanut butter, butter or Crisco, and tea. Clothes were changed on Monday mornings and worn the rest of the week unless they got wet or unusually muddy. In summer, the schedule was more casual. Usually the children slept late, so the village was quiet most of the morning. By afternoon, small groups were dispersed throughout the

village and surrounding area. Often children foraged for snacks for themselves by collecting wild celery, picking berries and gathering mussels down by the tidepools. They swam on warm days but in segregated groups. The boys had a particular area of the river bank which was theirs, and girls never went near it when they knew the boys were there, even though all swimmers wear suits. Girls usually swam in shallow tundra ponds across the river. One of the children's favorite activities was building a fire on the beach after swimming. They had picnics of food they found in the cupboards at home. Nudity embarrasses the children. When the girls go swimming, they dress under blankets and towels so their friends will not see them. They do not wear bathing suits while walking to the swimming spot because they do not want the boys to see them. And they stay far away from where the boys swim. This sense of modesty is instilled by at least age eight. One eight-year-old girl was looking at a magazine in my house. When she came across a picture of a woman's naked back she immediately turned her head away, looking at the wall until she had turned the page.

Outside of school there are few organized activities for children. One hour a week is spent at catechism from first grade through eighth. There are Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts led by single young adults. It costs $2.00 to join, and one girl of ten told me she was saving the money which replaced her lost teeth under the pillow at night. She did not mention a tooth fairy, only that the tooth would turn into money by morning, but she knew very well who put it there, for when I asked how it all happened, she grinned knowingly and said she would not tell me who put it there. Every few months, the teenagers organize a game night for themselves or the children. Board games or indoor relays are planned. The Bureau of Indian Affairs operates a summer camp in Wasilla, near Anchorage, for selected students from native villages around the state; the two or three brightest and most outgoing students from Tununak are chosen to attend for two weeks.

In the evenings on nice days the greatest numbers of children are visible in the village. Daylight lasts twenty-four hours from late spring to mid-summer, and in late summer the days are still quite long. The children stay up late in summer, and most large organized games occur at this time. Often adults will join in summer evening Lapp games or watch the children play.

There can be great variation in ages of children playing together. Girls of eight feel quite comfortable playing or swimming together with girls of 16 despite the disparity in their physical development. Girls of up to sixteen or so may hold hands or link arms with friends when walking together.

Children are fascinated with animals and go to great efforts to capture birds or animals to put in cages or to kill. Boys spend hours at a time shooting at birds with slingshots, and children wade in small ponds trying to catch tiny fish in cans to take home. Often children are cruel to animals, particularly dogs and puppies, but parents do not

try to correct the children on this point. In fact, adults, too, sometimes abuse dogs by kicking them or throwing stones at them. This is evidently an accepted outlet for aggression, for while children are discouraged from any expression of hostility toward playmates, they may use animals, particularly puppies as playthings which they may throw around, strike, use as targets for stones, waterguns, and so forth, with impunity. They are afraid of insects, and girls particularly will run screaming if someone yells "bug." This is probably due to the revulsion and fear of bugs which is instilled in them by parents who use fear of bugs as a technique for controlling children. For example, one mother who wanted to wash her obstinate son's face because it was covered with impetigo sores held a mirror up to him and pointed to the scabs with a look of disgust, saying, "Look, bugs." When he tried to put his finger into an electric wall socket, she yelled, "No, bugs in there."

The children have a repertoire of little songs and rhymes to recite when they see certain birds or insects. When a particular species of wildfowl fly in formation overhead, they all chant "That bird sucks her own eggs." All the translations for these were given by the girls themselves. When a bee is chasing them, they say "Bee, I will poke your butt with grass." Another one for bees is "Bee come, I'll eat you raw." When they are fishing for devilfish (sculpin?) they call, "Come, come, get your wife." Another rhyme is chanted when they are trying to call wild birds to get their attention, "Birdie, birdie, come, come." If they see a snail, they say, "Snail, open your ears. If you don't, I'll poke you."

It was normal in former times for girls to marry in their early to mid teens. Some parents still urge their daughters to marry young, but many are now resisting family pressure to do so. Many want to attend high school or simply enjoy their freedom a little longer, for they know that once married, they must assume more responsibility and are less free to visit with their friends.

Adolescence and young adulthood are relatively carefree times for most individuals. The boys help fathers hunt and fish, and girls help their mothers with babysitting and housework, but teenagers are free to come and go pretty much as they please, in most households. They stroll through the village at night, stopping in groups to chat. They hold rock dances in the community hall. They attend movies and do a lot of visting . Some attend high school at St. Mary's, a Roman Catholic mission on the Yukon River. The young men often enlist in the National Guard or one of the military services and go "outside" for basic training. There is much travel between villages. Boys, and to a lesser extent, girls, travel on foot or by boat to nearby villages, particularly Toksook, to visit friends or attend dances. Boys spend a lot of their free time learning to play guitars or in the local pool hall. Several boys own motorcycles and ride up and down the village or along the beach, to the annoyance of the older generation. Two young men from Tununak and a third from Toksook formed a rock band (two guitars and a drum) while in high school together and now continue to play for

local dances. A few parents are strict with their daughters and restrict their comings and goings, but from what several of them told me, parental control over teenagers is ineffectual in many cases.

There is not much obvious pairing off among young people until the serious courting stage, when couples holding hands can be seen in the evenings walking down to the end of the spit. Nearly all couples are married in the Catholic church, and until they can afford to build their own house, may live with the relatives. In this vicinity the pattern is for the couple to live in the groom's village, with his parents if necessary. Birth control is only beginning to be practiced and is still not common, so children begin arriving within the first two years of marriage. Young wives and mothers remain at home much of the time; there is gossip about a young wife who spends too much time visiting or walking about the village. People say she is lazy and should be at home doing her work. The amount of independence of a wife varies greatly. Some older women rule their households and do as they please, while their husbands can only joke about how bossy their wives are. In other cases, the men are true heads of the household and wives are subordinate. In most marriages I was familiar with, there was a measure of equality based on mutual affection. In some cases love overcame the prescription of appropriate role, as when a loving husband prepared dinner for his wife who was in a bad mood that day or a husband did the laundry for his tired wife. Many married couples seem to have in-law troubles. Young wives sometimes feel that their parents-in-law watch them too closely or are critical of their housekeeping. Sons-in-law do not always provide the assistance which parents expect of their daughter's husband, when it happens that the wife's parents live in the same community. Sometimes a strain in the early years of marriage is relieved when the couple's first child is born.

Religion

There have been itinerant Roman Catholic priests in the vicinity of Nelson Island since the late 1800's. A resident priest who travelled from village to village has been available since the 1930's. All residents of Tununak are Roman Catholic today. They are baptized, confirmed, married, and buried with church ritual. They take the names of Catholic saints. They pray before meals and attend church several times a week. When the priest is away, the service is conducted by two lay deacons in the village. The service is in Yupik when the priest is absent and when he is present his readings and sermon are translated by a local resident into Yupik.

Catechism was formerly taught by lay volunteers who spent one or more years in service to the church. Now the local women teach catechism one afternoon a week. The church council and sodality are also opportunities for members to be more active in church life.

To all outward appearances, the Eskimos have been completely converted to Christianity. But one finds evidence from time to time that the transition is not fully completed, or at least that the Eskimos have interpreted Christian dogma in light of their former beliefs. Many members of the community have reported visions. Children's experiences with the mysterious or supernatural are the topics of their stories and conversations. I was told countless tales of children's encounters with angels, monsters, voices, and haunted houses as well as with unexplained forces operating to lock doors, move objects, and so forth. One woman whose father was a shaman told me that shamanism is the work of the devil, but she also explained that it worked until God came to the people and the shamans lost their power. In other words, in her understanding, God arrived with the priest. Most adults have many stories of their experiences with supernatural creatures in the sea, ghosts, monsters, haunted houses (which they ask the priest to bless), etc. Many adults also told me that in the old days there were many more encounters with supernatural beings than there are nowadays.

School

The grade school (grades 1 through 8) in Tununak is operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Prior to 1972 one couple taught all eight grades; in 1972 and 1973 there were three teachers; and after 1973 four teachers handled the eight grades. The physical facility consists of one building which contains two apartments for the teachers, three classrooms, a school kitchen, and an office which was the medical aide office until a new clinic was built in the summer of 1974. The Roman Catholic church provides facilities for a pre-school which has been run by a Montessori trained lay volunteer teacher. Because of overcrowding at the B.I.A. school, the Montessori school has handled the first grade for several years, from 1971 to 1974.

Teachers are whites who come from "outside" and usually know little or nothing about the Eskimos, their culture, or the conditions under which they will be teaching. Many are disillusioned by the problems they encounter, and the isolation of their life in the village is also a source of depression for some. Thus, it is not uncommon for new teachers to leave after their first year's contract is over. Others enjoy life in a remote outpost and make a career of bush teaching. A third type remains a few years until a substantial financial nestegg is built and then they return to life in the "lower forty-eight." The teachers are usually rotated so that in Tununak in recent times, there have been new teachers every other year or so.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools are well-financed, and have all of the equipment and facilities they need, in most cases. In addition, there are many extras which make the teaching (and learning) more pleasant: recreation equipment; videotapes of children's television programs such as Sesame Street and the Electric Company; library books, and many other features.

School begins at 9:00 each morning and ends at 3:00 for the first three grades and at 4:00 for the upper classes. A hot lunch is served daily, prepared from canned goods in the school by an Eskimo woman employed as cook. Menus are taken from a published guide for schools, which also gives instructions in preparing each dish.

The teachers were a source of conversations among the villagers while I was in Tununak, and since I was acquainted with them, I heard much about their impressions and experiences too, so I was one of the few individuals who had access to both sides of the teacher-villager relationship. The villagers were, for the most part, in awe of the teachers, as they are with most gussuks; even if they sometimes disapproved of the teachers behavior, they rarely took action to change the situation. For example, some parents complained that their children were sick and vomited after lunches at school, but none ever went to the teachers to request a change in the policy that each child eat everything served to him. Some also disapproved of strict discipline of the teachers, but no action was taken through the school board to make parents' dissatisfaction known. The teachers for their part seemed to have mixed feelings about the students. It was clear to me on many occasions that the teachers genuinely enjoyed their students. But sometimes they displayed a lack of understanding in dealing with the children. The teachers rarely left the school complex to visit the villagers and knew almost nothing of the life of the people, yet they formed opinions about the Eskimos' lifestyle which they believed were based on truth. The teachers told me that the children are bored and do nothing unless the activity is organized by adults. They used this as their rationale to initiate extra-curricular activities in the evenings. Although the children enjoyed going to the school after hours for gymnastics, and other activities, they were far from bored and inactive otherwise. Adults almost never supervise or organize activities for their children, and children were always playing without adult supervision. The children were very active with their own amusements, both outdoors and in the house. I never heard any child complain that there was nothing to do. Oswalt (1963: 34) reports the same of Napaskiak children: "games are seldom organized, and there appears to be little need for authority."

The teachers' rationale for forcing the children to clean up their plates at lunch is, as they explained to me, that prior to the arrival of the white man, the Eskimos were "a sickly race; that is why they are so short." It is the white man's duty to improve their nutrition by substituting our food for theirs, which "lacks nutritional value." The teachers' opinion of native food value was based on no evidence I know about. Not only did they never visit homes in Tununak to know what was being eaten, but they had no knowledge about the nutritional content of native food, which in published studies has been shown to be adequate in most aspects, with the exception of a calcium deficiency (Heller 1964). The Spanish rice and chili which many children dislike is not nearly as healthy as dried fish and seal oil. A few years ago, teachers in Tununak told the missionary that it was almost hopeless to teach the

Eskimos our ways because they are a genetically inferior race. One teacher in 1973-74 informed me that the Eskimo language is so primitive and limited in vocabulary that the people are incapable of expressing abstract thought, and they lack concepts of time and space. I asked if they had had an orientation course on Eskimo culture prior to taking up duties at native schools, and they informed me that the Bureau of Indian Affairs does sponsor orientation courses for their new teachers but that they had not learned much of value in the course.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters allocates extra money from Title I for each special education student on the rolls. This led to the typing of any slow student as a special education student to obtain more money for the local budget. No allowance is made for language problems. Materials for English as a second language were apparently available, but I was told by the teachers that these were a waste of time. No one was employed to give extra coaching in learning English, and as a result, many students had very little idea of what was being taught in school for the first several years. By the time they acquired (essentially on their own) some fluency in English, they were so far behind in subject matter that they had little hope of catching up on the material they had been unable to understand earlier. In spite of the lack of time and money for extra language studies, the Tununak school spent $6000 for a wrestling mat in 1974. This figure was quoted by the teacher who ordered it. Teachers complain that students do not receive encouragement at home to do well in school. Parents permit children to stay up late at night, so they are often sleepy during classes in the day. English is not spoken in the homes, and teachers put part of the blame for the children's slow progress in acquiring fluency in English on their parents. Although it is true that parents do not enforce a regular schedule and do not speak English in their homes, it is not hard to understand, given their permissive child-rearing practices which are traditional, and given their lack of identity with what children are learning in school. They see a great need for education to cope with changes in their lives, but school is also the dividing agent between generations of Eskimos.

Attitudes of Eskimos Toward Outsiders

The expressed attitudes of the Eskimos about themselves varied from disparaging remarks on their poverty, unpleasant smelling houses, and lack of education to boasts of their ingenuity at repairing equipment, frugality, environmental concern and their hard work. Most seem ambivalent about their heritage. On the one hand they cannot ignore it, and many older people are reluctant to see it fade, but nearly everyone likes the conveniences of modern life and is caught up in the rush to become "modern." They are not unaware of the prejudice many whites feel, so they are torn between wanting to be like the whites to avoid feeling inferior and hating the whites for treating them as inferiors. They feel mistrust for strangers, and yet their ethic encourages hospitality and friendliness. I believe this is why most casual visitors

leave with the impression that Eskimos are one of the friendliest groups in the world. A visitor is greeted with smiles and invitations to come in for coffee or to attend a dance. He receives much attention, but he is unaware of what is being said behind his back. Only those who have lived among the residents of the village know how long it takes to be really accepted and for suspicion and covert hostility to disappear, if it ever does. One white woman I knew who had lived among the people for many years told me that after three years in one village she was told by a close Eskimo friend, "The people are starting to accept you now." I myself witnessed several occasions on which visitors who remarked to me that they felt the Eskimos were so warm and friendly were later subjects of rather hostile gossip. "What do those gussuks want here, anyway. They are probably spies," is a typical reaction. As usual, those whites in search of the noble savage found him. The Eskimos are skilled at impression management, not only because they are somewhat intimidated by the white man but also because they prefer to see themselves as "the good guys." One man asked me why I had never visited him. I said that it was because he had never invited me, to which he replied, "You don't need to wait for an invitation; Eskimos are friendly people, not like gussuks. You can come anytime." However much he may have believed this about himself, I know that many Eskimos were uncomfortable with whites in their homes. The woman I lived with told me of several of her friends, "She's afraid to invite you because her house is messy." One man who asked me in for coffee seconds after the new teacher had passed us on the walk said, when I asked if he wanted to ask the new teacher in too, "No, I didn't want to invite him because he's too gussuk." Many are afraid of the disapproval of whites.

This is not true in more acculturated villages. Hostility is more overt, and whites have been asked to leave.

Acculturation

There has been change in nearly every facet of Eskimo life as a result of contact with the Anglo-American culture. Reference to the Eskimo hunter's dependence upon items of modern technology has been made in the discussion of subsistence patterns. Material culture is perhaps one of the first areas of change in any society, but Tununak has not had great exposure to the outside world for very long. Explorers and missionaries passed through Nelson Island infrequently from the last decades of the nineteenth century until approximately the second decade of this century when the Bureau of Indian Affairs established a school in Tununak. Government financial assistance was not introduced until the 1950's, and airplanes to deliver passengers, mail, and cargo did not begin landing there until about the same time. However even up to about 1960 contact was minimal compared to most other Alaskan Eskimo villages. However, many villagers had been exposed to Anglo-American culture as a result of epidemics in the 1950's. Prior to that time, a traditional way of life had been followed, and contact with the outside world had been felt only minimally. Several factors changed the

situation about that time. Military activity along the Alaskan coasts increased contact between Eskimos and whites. Also, many young men joined the military during World War II and afterwards, and were sent outside the state for training and duty. Probably because of increased contact, Eskimos, who had no immunity to diseases introduced by whites, began to suffer from epidemics of diptheria and tuberculosis. Many epidemics had decimated native populations in other parts of the state in early times, but contact with whites had occurred earlier in such areas. Many ill were flown to hospitals where they spent up to several years recovering. Families were separated, and those who returned to the village brought a greater knowledge of outside ways and language than they had had previously. The Alaskan and Federal governments began to introduce more programs and services when Alaska became a state. This meant more contact with government agents. Also at this time, school attendance began to increase, as the Eskimos' appreciation for its benefits grew.

In about 1965 the first snowmobile was purchased by a Tununak resident, and dog sleds have been completely replaced by machines since then. Electricity to the village was installed in about 1969, and the water pipe was laid about the same time. The last traditional sod house was abandoned in about 1966. But as in all societies undergoing change, the process is not a smooth one.

Houses are now mostly frame constructions of one or two rooms built by the men from plywood which is shipped in. They are furnished according to the means of the families. In poorer homes, most of the sparse furniture is homemade. Beds have feather mattresses made from down and feathers of wildfowl. Wealthier families own beds, tables, and chairs from mail-order houses. Some homes have bare wooden floors; others are floored with linoleum. Within the homes, the variety and number of appliances also reflects the owners' affluence. One of the most popular items is the freezer. Freezing is the quickest and easiest method of preserving food. A few families own refrigerators, but they still keep dried meats, fish, seal oil, and leftovers on the cool porch.

In spite of the availability of "white man's food" in the stores, albeit at high prices, most people genuinely prefer their traditional diet of fish and sea mammals, which they generally take sitting on the floor together. Traditional clothing, except for skin boots in winter, has almost been entirely abandoned by the men in favor of mail-order clothes. Women buy many items of clothing from mail order houses, but they continue to wear fur parkas in winter and sew their own kuspuks (loose cotton dresses) to wear over slacks and blouse or as a parka cover in winter. Women still know how to clean and tan skins, at least those middle aged and older do, but they employ lard, soap, and flour to clean skins. Urine tanning is disappearing because of the Eskimos' sensitivity to the gussuk's disapproving nose.

Sewing machines, washing machines, plastic and metal containers and dishes, electric tools, motor-driven boats, and other machines

greatly ease the life of Tununak residents, but they still cling to some of their traditional culture. Language is one aspect they are particularly reluctant to give up. Adults say that the school teachers urge them to speak English at home so the children will know it before they begin school. But parents fear that unless the children speak Yupik at home, they will not know their own language. Nearly everyone in the village speaks Yupik except when speaking directly to gussuks. The preschool age children and old people do not know much English, if any. The generation from 15 to 30 seems to be most fluent.

The people still carry on some traditional secular ceremonies. The annual "special dance" appears to be a survival of the old trading festivals, but the goods exchanged are ones they buy in the store. The "firsts" ceremonies also contine but again, the gifts distributed are modern items such as cloth, kitchen items, candy, etc. which are purchased.

There is increasing travel to other parts of Alaska, and many men have been "outside" the state for their National Guard basic training. The National Guard is a source of cash income for many Tununak men. There has been one college graduate and about half the students go on to at least a year of high school in other parts of the state, since there is no schooling beyond eighth grade on Nelson Island (a high school is presently under construction in Toksook). Individuals who need hospitalization travel to Bethel or Anchorage where they are exposed to western life-styles, but there is still minimal comprehension of the outside world for many adults. For example, when news of Vice-President Agnew's resignation was announced over the radio stations (in Bethel and Nome), I was asked who Agnew was. People asked me frequently if events and people seen in the movies were "real." Few could comprehend that gussuks do not receive the same free medical and dental care provided by the Public Health Service to Eskimos (they repeatedly made reference to their impression that all gussuks are rich while Eskimos are poor). While they take advantage of the medical and dental care available to them, many also employ traditional medical treatments such as use of local plants as medicines and bloodletting to relieve aches and pains. They use Crisco as a medicinal salve, and have their own explanations for the causes of some disease. For example, impetigo is associated with the ripening of salmon berries. Children often wear red yarn around wrists or ankles to prevent blood poisoning.

Teenagers try to emulate western styles of dress and language. Young men often pepper their speech with English slang and obscenities. They like long hair and motorcycles. Many have experimented with drugs at high school.

The Eskimos seem to have a practical approach to culture change. If a new item works better, use it. Thus in making traditional grass baskets, modern commercial dyes or colored paper steeped in boiling water are used to color the grasses used for designs. But when something traditional is more pragmatic, why change. So even though nearly

every household has a broom, most women still use a bird's wing to sweep the floor. More on the juxtaposition of old and new will be discussed in later sections.

CHAPTER V

ROLE STRUCTURE

Role Structure in Traditional and Contemporary Society

The literature on Eskimos of southwestern Alaska is scanty compared to that of the northern and northwestern groups, but the available information on southwestern Alaskan Eskimos indicates remarkable similarity in role structure in most communities (Lantis 1946: Nelson 1899; Oswalt 1963). There are differences between villages and areas in economic pursuits, house types, dialects, settlement size, descent patterns, and many other features (Oswalt 1967), but role structure is comparable, with few exceptions.

Role structure of traditional southwestern Alaskan Eskimo society was extremely simple. The major factors governing division of labor were sex and age, and specialization was limited to part-time ceremonial and religious roles. Under the system of age division of labor, individuals worked according to their capabilities, with adults responsible for the major subsistence activities while children and old people assumed light chores as their abilities permitted. The sexual division of labor was fairly clearcut, with the roles of men and women complementary. Men's primary roles were as hunters, husbands, and fathers whose major responsibilities included providing meat for the family and making and maintaining tools, weapons, boats, and houses. The women were primarily housekeepers, wives and mothers who had the responsibility for care of the children, domestic duties, and preparation (cleaning and butchering) of the game hunters brought home for food and raw materials. More complete discussions of the different but complementary roles of men and women in traditional society are ample in the literature (Giffen 1930; Lantis 1946: 244-246). Because of the lack of specialization in economic pursuits and the complementary division of labor by sex, a man and wife were a self sufficient team; between them they had all the requisite knowledge and skills to survive and provide for themselves and their family.

Although there were no formal political offices or positions of authority, some individuals wielded more influence in the community than others. They might have a title in some areas which could be translated as "chief," but it was a title, not an office, and there were several "chiefs" in any one village (Lantis 1946: 248). These were the charismatic leaders in Eskimo society, whose personal qualities earned them

the respect of the community. Such men did not have power or formal authority to control the rest of the group, but when advice was needed they were sought out. Such individuals achieved respect by virtue of their own skills and abilities rather than by rights of office (Nelson 1899: 304). The individualism that was a basic characteristic of all Eskimos, both northern and southern groups, precluded formal office of authority (Hippler and Conn 1973: 5). The ethic of equality of opportunity prevented the development of any "craft guilds, secret societies with limited membership, or a priesthood, any one of which might have sought to dominate or organize society" (Lantis 1946: 260). Lantis observed that the ideology of Eskimos pertained almost exclusively to individual rather than group behavior (Lantis 1946: 249).

In spite of the egalitarian standards of society, individual behavior did not always conform to these ideals. There are reports in the literature of deviant individuals who sought to dominate others through wealth or fear (Oswalt 1967: 205; Hippler and Conn 1973: 23; Lantis 1959: 39; Nelson 1899: 296). However, even such unusual persons sought control by force of individual achievement and personal characteristics rather than by changing or manipulating the basic system itself.

The inherent individualism of Eskimos can be seen in spheres other than political. Part time religious specialists (shamans) were individuals who had an aptitude for human psychology, a talent for healing, and the ability to deal with the spirit world. Shamans acted alone, that is, without the formal sanctions of an office or priesthood. If they were consistently ineffective, their influence would be lost. The only other differentiated roles were those of qazgiq leader (Lantis 1946: 248) and dance leader (Oswalt 1967: 205). The qazgiq leader on Nunivak Island (Lantis 1946) was an individual recognized by the others as such, but Lantis reports that his duties were unclear; probably he was responsible for hosting visitors, supervising preparations for ceremonies and feasts, and seeing that the structure was maintained and cleaned (p. 248). The dance leader among Kuskokwim riverine Eskimos was a role passed from father to son, but it was not considered an important one (Oswalt 1967: 206). The duties involved supervising dances. In Tununak today, there are three men who are responsible for deciding when an informal dance will be held and opening the qazgiq beforehand. The oldest of the three calls out words to songs and suggests dances when the group pauses to decide which dance to perform next. He seems to know more songs and dances than the others but does not dance himself, probably because he is old and lame now. These positions of qazgiq and dance leaders were filled by men who achieved the skills, knowledge and influence necessary to meet the expectations of the role.

Individualism is evident too in the traditional religious system. Each person had personal charms and amulets to attract supernatural assistance in his endeavors. A system of taboos had to be observed by every individual. One person's failure to do so could offend the spirits and bring misfortune on everyone, a heavy responsibility for the

individual. It was then his obligation to publicly confess and thus free the group of the bad luck that his actions had brought on them (Lantis 1946: 197).

A child's development was recognized through the medium of "firsts" ceremonies. When a boy killed his first seal or a girl picked her first bucket of berries, the contribution was observed ceremonially (see page 43). Here there were no group initiations or age-set ceremonies. Individuals were honored individually for personal achievement, and the custom of observing "firsts" continues today.

When a crime was committed, it was generally the right of the victim or his relatives to punish the criminal. No outside authority or formal judicial body judged or punished the offender. Only when the criminal's behavior posed the threat of disruption to the group as a whole did individual action give way to community retaliation against him.

That individuals had full and equal access to all forms of social participation and all occupations (Lantis 1946: 262) can be further illustrated. In marriage, partners were selected for their personal qualities rather than for social status. In marriage the status of spouses was usually equal:

> In spite of the strong masculine-feminine segmentation of the culture--stronger than in many cultures--shown for example in the difference in forms of all utensils owned by males and females, there was no great discrepancy in the status of men and women (Lantis 1946: 261).

There were, of course, individual exceptions, but they were <u>individual</u> exceptions.

Hunting was also individual for the most part. Although men often hunted with partners, there were no group or communal hunts, no hunt chiefs (Lantis 1946: 246), and no strict rules governing the division of spoils.

Essentially, then, the structure of traditional Eskimo society in southwestern Alaska was egalitarian. A two-part division of adults--males and females--was the extent of major formal role differentiation. All adult males and females had the same sex-related rights, duties and expected behaviors related to economic pursuits and family life. In addition, there were limited opportunities for males to achieve informal positions of influence (by informal, I mean that these positions lacked prescribed power or authority of an office and were dependent on personal qualities) as charismatic leaders in the community or <u>qzagiq</u>, shamans, and to a lesser extent, dance leaders. The women also occasionally were shamans, and the oldest women in the community sometimes became influential as advisors.

There are two categories of individuals who are now treated as inferiors in Tununak, although I do not know if this is traditional: unwed mothers and illegitimate children. Unwed mothers are often scorned and ostracized, even sometimes by their own relatives, and illegitimate children are taunted by other children whose parents are openly contemptuous of such children. Whether this is widespread in contemporary Eskimo society I do not know, but it is mentioned in the literature for at least one other southwestern Alaskan community, one in which the dominant religion is Russian Orthodox (Oswalt 1963: 28).

Culture change has had a significant impact on the self-sufficiency of families and to a lesser extent on the individualism of the Eskimo. The availability of manufactured goods and processed foods has led to a reliance on items not produced by the family. Furthermore, the role structure, while still not complex compared to that in modern American society, has expanded considerably, and there is now some specialization of labor. There are presently several full-time jobs in the village and some part-time positions; the duties and expectations of the store clerk, medical aide, postmaster, and magistrate are different from each other. A man may now choose to be something more than a hunter-husband-father. He may be a seasonal construction worker, a school janitor, a lay deacon, a member of the village council, or fill any number of other roles. A list of paid jobs, volunteer positions, and elective offices is found in Appendix C. Women have fewer choices, but they are beginning to serve on school and church boards and to be elected to council offices of secretary and treasurer. Teacher aides at the school are normally young, unmarried women, and one woman has served as postmaster in recent times. The school cook is also female. The official power associated with many of these roles is a new element as well. The president and other members of the council have the formal authority to enact laws for the village. The school board members have some control over the functioning of school and even have some say in the hiring of teachers, if they choose to exercise it. In addition, they can impose an evening curfew for school children. Medical aides have powers, sometimes over life and death, since they decide whether or not an individual needs medical attention from a physician and must authorize travel to the hospital in Bethel. The postmaster regulates the opening of the post office, especially when a mail plane arrives after closing time. The policeman has absolute authority over villagers who disobey laws. In all these cases, the power is ascribed to the office and is not dependent upon the individual or his personality. A new, expanded superstructure of roles has thus been imposed over the traditional framework. The difference between the old and the new role structure is not simply in the numbers of choices and variety of roles available, but also in the assignment of power functions. Whereas traditionally there was a minimum of ascribed power to many roles, such as that of parent over children, there is now power ascribed to many roles, so individual lives are increasingly regulated by the actions of others. How are these structural changes accepted by a people who traditionally have valued individualism so highly?

In the case of Tununak the changes in values seem to have lagged behind changes in role structure. In spite of the authority of elected village officials, the people continue to maintain individual autonomy as much as possible. Intoxicated individuals roam freely through the village, teenage boys roar through the village on motorcycles in spite of repeated admonitions by the council, children still occasionally stay out after curfew, and other examples could be listed. The point is not simply that people still feel an aversion to being told what to do, for most try to conform to the village ordinances, but that the officials do not often follow through with any enforcement. They often experience frustration because of the casual attitude of the villagers, but they are unwilling to risk disapproval and public discord by behaving autocratically. Effectiveness in office even now results more from personal relationships of the man holding it than on exercise of official power (Oswalt 1963: 66 says this of Napaskiak as well). The turnover rate for many jobs and elective offices in Tununak is rather high. Individuals are replaced because of dissatisfaction on the part of the village or because they resign, discouraged by their ineffectiveness. Interestingly, Eskimos seem to have a different notion of the role of Anglo-Americans. They appear to accept the domination of white leaders. The reasons for this are complex and are involved, I believe, with their feelings of inferiority as much as the aggressiveness of whites. Whereas they will follow the lead of an Anglo-American, obey orders, behave submissively, they will not do this for an Eskimo leader. Their concept of their role vis a vis whites is different from their role expectations within the native social organization. Moreover, the stigma attached to Eskimo unwed mothers and illegitimate children is not extended to Anglo-Americans. A young, single teacher in the village gave birth to an infant at the end of her first year there. She returned with her child to teach a second year and was, from all I could gather, genuinely liked by the people. Adults and children were frequent visitors, and her child was the center of great attention and the recipient of many gifts. Such affection is not extended to all teachers, however, and cannot be explained by a blanket acceptance of all Anglo-Americans as friends.

Role Structure in Games

The reader will recall that information on games was compiled in the field from my observations and from statements children made about their recent play activities. The list of traditional games was made exclusively on the basis of informants' statements. Caution must be taken against relying heavily on the accuracy of such statements, particularly with regard to frequency of games played. Validity studies have shown that what children say they play is not always what they in fact play (Sutton-Smith 1965: 65-66), and this is undoubtedly even more true of adults' recollections of their childhood games. It was for this reason, as well as limitations imposed by cultural factors in the field, that I did not employ questionnaires or surveys in recording game preferences.

A few comments regarding information not contained in the Appendix on games seem pertinent here. During the time I was in Tununak, I noticed what we might call game seasons. These were not seasons which corresponded with changes in the weather, although of course some play activities did change as winter brought snow to play in or summer permitted longer outdoor games. But seasons in the players' preferences did not depend exclusively on weather conditions. In the summer of 1973, making string figures was the single most frequently observed play activity among children. As explained in more detail in Appendix A, this was probably due to a revitalization of string figures during an arts and crafts class for children. However, during the following summer, 1974, string figures had virtually disappeared from the game repertoire and had been replaced by marbles as the most frequently observed game. Almost every day, throughout the village, one could observe groups of from two to six children shooting marbles. I would conclude from my experience that the games any observer records from year to year would vary because of such changes in player preferences, and only several years of observation would yield a truly accurate picture of game seasons or game cycles.

Another point which was discussed more fully within the context of acculturation is that changes from the traditional repertoire to the present one began to increase significantly after 1950, but information on exactly when each new game was adopted could not be obtained.

The following discussion will focus on power functions and modes of competition in games, interaction patterns, and role organization, and finally, a brief discussion of roles in sociodramatic play.

For descriptions of games, and ages and sexes of players, the reader should refer to Appendix A. Games recorded in Tununak have been classified according to Roberts, Arth, and Bush taxonomy (1959), with the additional element of memory-attention identified by Eifermann (1971), a classification based on the dominant mode of competition or contest in the game, in Table 2 on page 76. Games are also classified in terms of player specialization (differentiation) in Table 4 on page 82. Games are further classified by interaction patterns, according to Avedon's taxonomy of structural elements (1971: 421-25) in Table 3 on page 78.

Power Functions and Modes of Competition

The traditional Eskimo culture with its lack of hierarchical role organization and social stratification had very few roles in which power was ascribed. The only exceptions were the roles of parents which assigned some measure of power over their children. Otherwise, all influence of individuals was achieved through their own actions and skills. In games, too, nearly all provided opportunities for individuals to demonstrate or test their own abilities. There were no exceptions to this in the traditional repertoire of games recorded for

Figure 3 - String Figures

Tununak. For the most part, even introduced games are those in which the player is entirely on his own to succeed or fail at the endeavor, whatever the mode of contest present (with the exception, of course, of games of chance). The nature of the contest in Eskimo games varies. In most traditional games, it was physical agility, endurance or strength, and in some it was memory-attention. In some new games, the element of strategy has been introduced. Young men play chess according to standard rules, but children tend to minimize strategy by modifying games which have that element present. For example, basketball played by young boys is little more than practice in shooting baskets. There is rarely any guarding, and once a player has possession of the ball, he does not need to plan a strategy to get close to the basket, for the other players rarely interfere with his attempts to shoot. The children also modify the rules of checkers: a piece may be moved diagonally for any number of spaces (like the bishop in chess) so that the game is quickly over. Games of chance are played now by older children and adults. Children enjoy card games and simple board games; adult men bet on card games and pool; and women are fond of bingo and card games.

Table 2 lists the types of games played in traditional and contemporary Tununak society according to the mode of competition or contest present: physical skill; physical skill with a minor element of strategy; physical skill with memory-attention; chance; chance with a minor element of strategy; strategy; and memory-attention.

Another type of game, that of arbitrary power (Avedon and Sutton-Smith, 1971: 404) has been introduced in school. Games of arbitrary power have a central-person position which has "arbitrarily game-granted status that allows her to dictate the course of action..." (p. 404). However, such games have never been observed by me in the village. The game power mechanisms in village games are consistent with those operating in the traditional society. That is, no member has ascribed power over another, but individual potency (which leads to prestige and influence) is acquired by an individual proving himself adept or skilled in various areas, such as hunting. While there are no games of arbitrary power played by Tununak children, such games have been recorded for a Canadian Eskimo group (Glassford 1970: 283).

Interaction Patterns

George Herbert Mead (1934: 158-59) was interested in games as learning situations for roles and role behavior. Within his discussion of games as they affect personality development, he included a list of game elements: purpose of the game; procedures for action; interaction patterns of players; role of players; and rules governing actions. Avedon (1971: 419-426) has compiled a list of ten structural elements in all games, based on the work of Mead and others: purpose of the game; procedures for action; rules governing action; number of required participants; roles of participants; results or pay-off; abilities and skills required for action; interaction patterns; physical setting and

TABLE 2

DOMINANT MODES OF COMPETITION IN ESKIMO GAMES

Physical Skill	Physical Skill and Memory-attention	Chance
foot races #47	chuki-chuki #9	5 card match #32
king of the mountain #6	string figures #10	take away #33
volleyball #7	jump rope #15	Pollyanna #28
basket shooting #8	(juggling) #57	Eskimo solitaire #34
tag #2		*an unknown card game #35
jacks #16		*bingo #18
dodgeball #11		
keep away #1		
hopscotch #20		
marbles #21	Physical Skill and Strategy	Chance and Strategy
wrestling #23		
over and under relay #45	Lapp game #5	rummy #31
3-legged race #48	hockey #3	Monopoly #26
obstacle course #36	soccer #4	
scissors relay #37	cat and mouse #50	
ball over the roof #12	*basketball #8	
bicycle races #46	*touch football #24	
blindfolded on a stick #38	*pool #17	
dizzy relay #39		
*handstacking #22		
*backward race #40		
*blindfold search #41	Memory-attention	Strategy
*apple eating contest #43		
*hammer-the-nail relay #42	Eyewitness #27	hide and seek #13
*high jump #44	storyknifing #25	checkers #14
(dart toss) #61	(silence) #66	*chess #19
(thimble toss) #59		
(ring toss or horseshoes) #60		
(finger pull) #62		
(hand pull) #63		
(jack sticks) #67		
(tug of war) #64		
(box hockey) #65		
(prisoner's base) #58		
(hang on a stick) #68		

Note: ( ) indicates games no longer played
* indicates games observed for adults only
Numbers following each game refer to description numbers in Appendix A

environmental requirements; required equipment. The two elements most relevant to this discussion of games are roles of participants and interaction patterns. The role structure of games has been discussed, but also of importance to understanding roles in games is the knowledge of interaction patterns of players. The role is the formal position, while the interaction patterns are the links between roles, how positions interact or interrelate to one another. It therefore seems useful to discuss this particular structural element and Avedon's taxonomy of types of interaction patterns.

Avedon (1971: 424-25) identifies eight types of interaction patterns which can be used to categorize games. These are defined by him as the following (1971: 424-25):

a) Intra-individual--action taking place within the mind of a person or action involving the mind and a part of the body, but requiring no contact with another person or external object.

b) Extra-individual--action directed by a person toward an object in the environment, requiring no contact with another person.

c) Aggregate--action directed by a person toward an object in the environment while in the company of other persons who are also directing action toward objects in the environment. Action is not directed toward each other, no interaction between participants is required or necessary.

d) Inter-individual--action of a competitive nature directed by one person toward another.

e) Unilateral--action of a competitive nature among three or more persons, one of whom is an antagonist or "it." Interaction is in simultaneous competitive dyadic relationships.

f) Multi-lateral--action of a competitive nature among three or more persons, no one person is an antagonist.

g) Intra-group--action of a cooperative nature by two or more persons intent upon reaching a mutual goal. Action requires positive verbal and non-verbal interaction.

h) Inter-group--action of a competitive nature between two or more intra-groups.

Table 3 is a classification of games played in Tununak using the eight types of game interaction patterns identified by Avedon. The majority of games fall into two categories: those with multilateral interaction patterns (24 of a total of 60 games); and those with inter-group action patterns (18 of a total of 60 games). I believe these frequencies can be explained by cultural factors, namely role structure and value systems.

TABLE 3

INTERACTION PATTERNS OF ESKIMO GAMES

Intra-individual	Extra-individual	Aggregate	Inter-individual	Unilateral	Multi-lateral	Intra-group	Inter-group
	Eskimo solitaire string figures	*bingo	wrestling checkers *unknown card game *chess (finger pull) (hand pull) (box hockey) (dart toss)	tag king of the mountain dodgeball cat & mouse	marbles rummy Monopoly Eyewitness jacks bike races hopscotch basket-shooting Pollyanna foot race take away jump rope 5 card match *high jump *pool *handstacking *backward race *blindfold search (jack sticks) (silence) (ring toss) (thimble toss) (hand on to stick) (juggling)	storyknifing chuki-chuki dual string figures obstacle course blindfold on a stick	ball over the roof hockey Lapp game soccer volleyball scissors relay dizzy relay keep away 3-legged race hide & seek over & under relay king of the mountain *touch football *backetball *apple eating contest *hammer-the-nail relay (prisoner's base) (tug of war)

Multilateral interaction patterns in games are consistent with the emphasis on individualism in economic, political and religious spheres of traditional life. Intergroup action patterns reflect the duality of the competition-cooperation ethic: competitive effort on the part of each individual but conformity to the ideals of cooperation and non-aggression for group survival.

Role Organization in Games

Scholars have suggested that the role structure of children's games mirrors their knowledge of social organization. Thus, since Anglo-American children at a young age are usually in situations supervised or guided by an adult, such as teacher-pupils, mother-children, their game inventory consists primarily of central person games in which a leader or "it" directs or has power over the other players (Sutton-Smith and Gump 1955). Examples of American central-person games are Mother-May-I, Simon Says, and tag. It would follow that as children's roles in, and perceptions of, the social organization change, so will their preferences for game organization. In a small homogeneous community like Tununak, where the social structure is very simple, one might not find that children's knowledge of adult role networks is limited. That is, given the small scale and simple organization of society and the children's rather free access to all aspects of life there, it is not unrealistic to expect children to have a reasonably complete knowledge of Tununak's social organization at a fairly early age. Parents speak freely in front of their children, and children are free to come and go at will to any gathering whether it be church, council meetings or other activities. The only activity from which children are barred is afternoon bingo. Because children have such liberty and spend much time together playing without adult supervision, and because authoritarian discipline is not part of Eskimo childrearing practices, children's social organization is not unlike that of adults: unstratified groups which permit flexible individual participation.

There are some differences in the play behavior of various age groups, but the differences are not as great as one might find in more complex societies. Young children under the age of five do not engage in the more elaborately organized games such as Lapp game (#5), ball over the roof (#14), and the various board and card games. Moreover, they are limited by their own level of physical development to rather simple games of physical skill that do not require maximum degree of coordination, games such as tag (#2), foot races (#47), and unskilled games of marbles. They may know one or two simple string figures (#10) by the age of five or so, and girls are practiced at smoothing mud and drawing with a storyknife (#25) even though their "stories," if they tell them at all, consist only of naming objects they draw. As the children grow older, their repertoire of games increases. Girls from six to about twelve or thirteen play with Jacks (#16), storyknives (#25), and hopscotch (#20); boys practice with bows and arrows, slingshots, practice shooting baskets (#8), and play king of the mountain

Figure 4 - Telling Storyknife Tales

(#6). Both sexes in the middle childhood years play tag (#2), jump rope (#15), Lapp game (#5), hockey (#3), hide and seek (#13), keep away (#1), ball over the roof (#12), string figures (#10), dodgeball (#11), checkers (#14), marbles (#21), rummy (#31), various board games, volleyball (#7), and have jumping contests. Only the adolescent boys and young men play pool (#17), basketball (#8), touch football (#24), and chess (#19), while both boys and girls of adolescent age play board games, cards, and Lapp game. While we can say generally that children under about five or six play mostly simple games, there seems to be no correlation of the role organization of games and age of players from that age level on. The role organization is also essentially the same for adult games, and since some games played by children are also played by adults, or used to be, there is no need to separate a discussion of adult and children's games for the purpose of role analysis. Today in Tununak, adults play only a few games. Young and middle-aged adults of both sexes enjoy Lapp game, and adults of all ages play cards and bingo (#18). In addition, adults participate in the 4th of July contests. In 1974, adults were the contestants in the following games: apple eating contest (#43); hammer-the-nail relay (#42); backward race (#40); and blindfold search (#41).

Table 4 shows the current game inventory for Tununak classified according to differentiation of individual and team roles. I found no correlation between age of players and preference for games with differentiated or undifferentiated roles, thus both children's and adult games are listed in the table. Traditional games are those which, as far as I can determine, were not introduced by Anglo-Americans but were aboriginal games or modified versions of aboriginal games. New games are those which have been taught by Anglo-Americans, usually in schools, and have been adopted as taught or in modified form. It should be pointed out that the games taught in school but never played by the children outside of school are not included in the table, although they are listed in Appendix A (games #49-#56).

Games with differentiated individual roles are ones in which one or more roles have expectations, behavior and relations to other players which are different from any other position. For example, in the game of tag (#2), the "it" chases everyone else. He is the only player expected to pursue and touch other players; that is his function and goal. In Lapp game (#5), the pitcher's goals and actions are different from those of any other player. However, in undifferentiated role games, no individual position is unique. Each player has the same functions, goals, and status. There may be differences between team functions, as in hide and seek (#13) where one team hides and the other team searches for them, but all members of one team have the same role; such games are undifferentiated individual role games, thus are listed in that category in the table, but they are differentiated team role games, so are also put into the third category in the table.

Some games are played both with differentiated individual positions and without. King of the mountain (#6), for example, may be played as a

TABLE 4

ROLE DIFFERENTIATION IN GAMES

Differentiated Individual Role Games

Traditional Games	Introduced Games
tag	king of the mountain?
storyknifing	basketball
obstacle course?	Lapp game
blindfold on a stick?	touch football
jump rope	cat and mouse
	Eyewitness

Undifferentiated Individual Role Games

Traditional Games	Introduced Games
hang onto a stick	volleyball
high jump	marbles
backward race?	checkers
blindfold search	Monopoly
string figures	Pollyanna
keep away	chess
soccer	jacks
juggling	pool
ball over the roof	bingo
hockey	take away
hide and seek	5 card match
jack sticks	rummy
handstacking	hopscotch?
wrestling	apple eating contest
box hockey?	hammer-the-nail relay
foot races	over and under relay
chuki-chuki	basket shooting
dodgeball	Eskimo solitaire
thimble toss	unknown card game
ring toss or horseshoes	scissors step relay
dart toss	dizzy relay
finger pull	bicycle races
hand pull	prisoner's base?
tug of war	
silence	

Differentiated Team Role Games

Traditional Games	Introduced Games
keep away	king of the mountain
hide and seek	prisoner's base
	Lapp game

Note: ? indicates that the origin of this game is uncertain

central person game in which one player tries to keep all others from taking his place on a designated area (the "mountain") by pushing them away as they approach. This game is more often player in teams, however, in which a team of kings, all in the role of defenders of their territory, attempt to prevent the team of attackers from pushing them off. Because it is played both ways, it is listed both as a differentiated individual role game (in which there is one king) and as a differentiated team game (in which a team of kings opposes a group of attackers). In games such as juggling (#57), darts (#61), jacks (#16), and others, players take turns at the same role. That is, each player performs the same activity but in sequence. I have classified such games as undifferentiated role games, even though one player is the focus of activity. I would argue that rather than his being a central person, he is the player while all others form an audience of potential players.

From Table 4 we can see that the number of games without differentiation of individual roles (49 of 60 games) is significantly higher than games in which players take exclusive positions (11 of 60 games). The numbers lend only partial support to my hypothesis that organization of players in Eskimo games is consistent with organization of roles in society. In the traditional culture, there were very few major roles which were exclusive. Differentiation of roles in society was very limited and was not consistent with the egalitarian structure of the society. Rather, any role which was differentiated was created by an individual for himself and maintained by his individual abilities. A formal office was not filled by him and passed on to someone else later. In traditional games we see very little individual role differentiation among players; only 5 of 30 traditional games recorded involved player specialization, even this was minimal specialization: rope turners versus jumpers in jump rope (#15); storyteller versus listeners in storyknifing (#25); chaser versus escapees in tag (#2), and so on. Thus the traditional game repertoire consists of games in which role organization patterns are consistent with societal role organization. However, in the new games the correlation fails. Whereas contemporary role structure in Tununak has been expanded to include significantly more differentiated positions, new games do not show an increase in player specialization over traditional games. Of 30 introduced games played in the village, only 6 involve any individual player differentiation. Thus, in both traditional and introduced games, the proportion of undifferentiated role games to differentiated role games remains the same: significantly higher.

As noted earlier, role and power function are related but not the same. The fact that some individuals are better players than others is not unrecognized; but no game offers players positions in which rules of the game give them differential power, control, or influence.

In summary, what we see is that in spite of the fact that role differentiation in the community has increased significantly in the past several decades, and is still continuing as new jobs are introduced

to increase specialization of labor, there has not yet been a significant change in preference for games with differentiated roles. The introduced games which have been accepted and are now played in the village are primarily those with undifferentiated role organization. The only real exception is the very popular Lapp game. In school, children learn many games in which there are differentiated roles (Jacob and Ruth #54; Squirrel and Dog #53, and others) but such games are not played outside of school, where they are organized and directed by a teacher. It is my belief that this may be due to the influence of cultural values which have not changed as much as more superficial aspects of people's lives. Acculturation is an uneven process. In a community like Tununak where the full effects of contact are fairly recent, material culture and some aspects of social organization have changed dramatically and rapidly, but the underlying ideology has been more conservative. Perhaps we may see changes in the future in the role organization of games which will mirror the changes that have already taken place in society. This cannot be determined at present and must await further research at a later time. However, given the great variation in rates of change in Alaskan Eskimo villages, perhaps data from another community would provide some further insight. Such data are not now available, however. What is clear is that presently the values of the community which are instilled in children have a greater effect on game preferences than does the role structure of the adult community, for although traditional games are organized in a similar manner to traditional role structure, contemporary games are also organized like traditional role structure. These data shed no light on whether the role structure of games has remained stable because games have not changed at the same rate as social organization (in which case we might see such changes at a later time) or whether the children's knowledge of adult role structure has less affect on their games than the social organization of their own peer groups, as Sutton-Smith and Gump have suggested (1955). In this case, I would speculate that it is the lag in rates of change which provide the explanation rather then incomplete understanding by children of adult role structure. I would further suggest that it is the lag in rates of change which also explains why adult games have not changed in role organization either, in spite of the dramatic changes in community role structure.

Appendix B lists all the play activities I observed in Tununak for boys, girls, and mixed groups, but it seems pertinent in a discussion of acculturation of play and changes in roles acted out by children to discuss sociodramatic play. Sociodramatic play is characterized by the following: imitative role play; make-believe in regard to objects; make-believe in regard to actions and situations; persistence (at least 10 minutes); interaction (at least two players); and verbal communication (Smilansky 1968: 9)

With the exception of store, which I saw played by many groups of both boys and girls together between the ages of five and twelve, the sociodramatic play described was observed in "my" family, where three girls ages eight to twelve, their female friends, and a brother of three

were the participants. Boys undoubtedly also engage in sociodramatic play, and I saw them at a distance playing at war, cowboys, and other pretenses, but I did not have the opportunity to observe them closely. These descriptions of sociodramatic play have appeared previously (Ager 1974a).

Store. This was played by both girls and boys between the ages of four and twelve, both indoors and outdoors. A table or bench was used as a counter, and if played indoors, real food from the cupboards was "sold." If played outdoors, discarded cans, small boxes, pebbles, sticks and other debris were used as store goods. One or more children acted as the clerks while the others pretended to be customers.

School. This was normally played indoors, but I once saw five children playing school in a new steam bath house where they had brought their books, pencils and crayons to draw and write. The teacher was usually the oldest child present, and she was noticeably leading the others. The teacher was strict and issued directions to the others.

Mother and Children. Such play was often an occasion to dress up in the mother's clothing when played indoors, as it usually was. The mother fed her children, told them to go to bed, and took them on trips (to Bethel and Toksook). In some instances a real baby was used if the girls were babysitting their infant sister. Both dolls and younger children were the babies, and several mothers and children acted out their roles simultaneously.

Church. The oldest girl acted as the priest and wore a blanket around her shoulders. She set up a wooden bench in front of the bed and ordered the others to "Please be seated." She chanted, "Please get the sugar," and one of the other children brought sugar from the kitchen. "Please get some crackers," she intoned, and a handfull of pilot crackers was brought from the cupboard. Then, "Please get some Kool-Aide," and it, too, was fetched. "Please get the toilet paper." Each item was collected in turn and assembled on the bench. The children were seated on the bed while the priest stood behind the bench and mixed the Kool-Aide with sugar and water in a bowl. She gave each child a bite of cracker, then a sip of Kool-Aide, wiping off the rim of the bowl with toilet paper after each person had drunk. She next read the gospel which went like this: "They sat down to eat and drink; then they got up to play (sic)." She ended the service by singing "Amazing Grace." The whole episode lasted approximately twenty minutes.

The Movies. One evening the children hung a sheer white blanket between the dark bedroom and the brightly lit kitchen. Chairs were dragged from the kitchen to the bedroom and placed behind the blanket, on the dark side. The children took turns dancing or jumping comically on the bright side of the blanket, casting a shadow on it which the audience on the other side watched. The show, which they told me was a movie, went on for about twenty minutes.

Figure 5 - Playing Store

Dentist. (Public Health Service dentists visit the village once a year for several days to give check-ups and take care of minor dental problems.) A seat from the family snowmachine, which was being repaired outside, was on the kitchen floor. The children enjoyed sitting on it, as it was a nice child-sized chaise lounge. One girl was relaxing on it when another went over to her and called to a third to join. They decided to play dentist. The oldest girl put a napkin on the chest of the girl in the seat and asked in English, with a slow and exaggerated pronunciation, "Do you have any cavities today?" The patient asked what a cavity is, so they came over to where I was sitting and asked me. I explained it, and they returned to the patient without comment. The two dentists began to jointly "drill" the patient's teeth by making a buzzing sound after prying her mouth open. After several seconds of drilling, the older dentist told the patient to "spit three times." Then a second girl took the chair as patient. The activity continued for about ten minutes.

There are several noticeable features of sociodramatic play I observed. Most of these pretenses, with the exception of Store in some cases, were acted out in dialogues with slow, exaggerated enunciation in English. This is striking because normally the children speak Yupik to one another. Another feature is that the roles acted out are ones which are introduced ones, i.e., not traditional, and many are not even now held by Eskimos. Store clerks, mothers, children, and movie audiences are roles held by Tununak Eskimos, but teachers, priests, and movie actors are not held by Eskimos that these children know of. So they are playing essentially white-associated roles, which probably explains why they speak in English. Such roles are almost certainly ones that are incompletely understood by children because recruitment to such roles is outside their experience. Only partial knowledge of these roles is known to them. Teachers, because they live in the school complex and welcome local visitors, are highly visible people. The children spend the school day with them and are often visiting in their apartments in the evenings and on weekends. The priest's role is also one known to the children, at least that aspect which is public, the serving of mass. The dentist is known only from his annual visit, and his work is poorly understood.

One finds some difference in the interaction patterns and role organization of sociodramatic play. In dramatic play there is often a dominant role in which power over others is exercised. In teacher and priest we find a single individual controlling the entire activity while the other players remain comparatively submissive, almost passive. This is inconsistent with the patterns and organization of formal games. I think what we are seeing here is the children's response to the white man's society. In formal games they are operating under the values of their own culture, but in sociodramatic play they can step outside their cultural norms and follow the models whites provide. This is their most overt and significant reaction to the differences between the two cultures. Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1971: 436) say that the primary function of games is to act as buffered models of power contests. That the

sociodramatic play of these children is a response to the power function of roles held by dominant whites is illustrated by the authoritarian leadership exhibited in such play, leadership which is not present in traditional Eskimo games. It is also interesting that authoritarian positions of leadership, significant differentiation of roles, and roles of religious specialists which have no counterparts in formal games are significant roles in the sociodramatic play of these children.

In the absence of information about sociodramatic play in the early contact period, I would suspect that one reason for the significant difference in role organization of formal game and sociodramatic play is that the flexible, creative, and imaginative character of sociodramatic play lends itself more quickly to cultural change, whereas formal games tend to be more stable because rules are explicit and goals are specified.

CHAPTER VI

THE RELATIONSHIP OF VALUES AND GAMES

Values in Society

> In the broadest sense...(one) may usefully think of values as abstract and perduring standards which are held by an individual and/or a specified group to transcend the impulses of the moment and ephemeral situations. From the psychological point of view, a value may be defined as that aspect of motivation which is referable to standards, personal or cultural, that do not arise solely out of an immediate situation and the satisfaction of needs and primary drives.
>
> A value is a selective orientation toward experience, implying deep commitment or repudiation, which influences the 'choice' between possible alternatives in action. These orientations may be cognitive and expressed, or merely inferable from recurrent trends in behavior. A value, though conditioned by biological and social necessity is in its specific form arbitrary or conventional.
>
> Values, then, are images formulating positive or negative action commitments. They take distinctive forms in different culture, tend to persist tenaciously through time, and are not mere random outcomes of conflicting human desires. They are standards which complicate the individual's satisfaction of his immediate wishes and needs (C. Kluckhohn, quoted in Lantis 1959: 37).

Because values are both cultural and personal standards, this discussion will include both focal values of the Eskimo culture and personal traits or characteristics regarded as ideal. The sources of information on values are published ethnographies in which values are discussed and my own field observations, the villagers' positive and negative statements about their own and others' behavior, and their reactions to my own behavior. Fortunately, an excellent study of western Alaskan Eskimo values was made by Margaret Lantis (1959), and a study of the Eskimo hunter's psychology was part of a project at Wainwright, Alaska, by Richard Nelson (1969). The latter focused on valued personal attributes of a good hunter and was useful in that the ideal traits identified were remarkably similar to those listed for southwestern Eskimos. Because of the dearth of comparative material from the southwest, some sources on northwestern Alaskan Eskimos were

used in confirming what I found and what other scholars of southwestern Alaskan Eskimos discovered regarding values. It was felt that in spite of some cultural and linguistic differences between Eskimos of these two regions, the value systems are sufficiently similar to warrant such comparison.

This discussion is not meant to be a complete inventory of Eskimo values; rather I have used Lantis' list of six focal values (1959) as a framework around which to build a discussion of major values I perceived to be operating in Tununak. The focal values she identified are these: (1) Performance--high value of skill and ingenuity; (2) Goods--devaluation of possessiveness; (3) Interpersonal Relationships--high value of good socialization of the passive type; (4) Social Morality--survival of the group; (5) Religion--respect for animals (animism); (6) Economy--high value (and necessity) of hunting.

For ease of organization and discussion, I have preferred to classify values into four categories based on man's fundamental relationships: (1) to other men; (2) to things; (3) to his environment; (4) to the supernatural.

Man's Relationships to Man

A focal value which Lantis terms the high value of socialization of the passive type can be seen operating in interpersonal relationships. Hostility, aggressiveness, and "loudness" are highly undesireable behavior among Eskimos. An ideal man is one who maintains self-control at all times. People try very hard to live up to these ideals, and even when they feel angry with someone, they do not confront, accuse or argue with them. The passive exterior is maintained; only gossip, spoken in soft voices, indicates their displeasure. There is a climate of permissiveness in all interpersonal relationships. This is consistent with the emphasis on individual achievement; each individual is not only permitted to pursue his own course most of the time, but the permissiveness creates a tolerance for others' individuality.

In dealing with one's family and friends, one should extend help and cooperation when necessary, but only when one is asked. Minding one's business is a tenet of life in this village, and in many others as well. Not only does one not reveal curiosity about others' affairs, one does not ever offer advice or even assistance unless it is requested. This can be taken to extremes, given the Eskimo's reluctance to interfere with his neighbors (Nelson 1969: 380). As an example, when I moved into a house the second season and found that it had no source of heat, I mentioned in many casual conversations that I had no stove. I also said that I was looking for one. This was rarely met with any comment. After several frustrating (and cold) days of attempting to elicit help in this indirect manner, I decided to simply ask for help. Once I did, I was given a discarded but still functional stove by a man whom

everyone knew had one. No one, evidently, felt free to put him on the spot by telling me about his stove. But he gave it freely when I asked him for help. When I mentioned to several other men that I now had a stove but could not carry it to my house or install it myself, no one offered help. But once I asked a man for help, he transported the stove to my house, then some of his friends came to help, and there were soon four men getting it ready for my use. And they all appeared to be very happy to do so and came back several times during the next few months to be sure it was operating properly. Other values were evident in this episode: hospitality and generosity. Because I was a guest in their village, they were eager to be sure I was warm and comfortable, once I let them know I needed them. They asked for no pay, no compensation for the many hours they spent helping me. One brought me fresh fish throughout the summer without my asking for it or offering payment. In fact, people brought gifts of food frequently. The previous summer when my husband had visited me briefly, one family spent a great deal of money buying foods at the store for us, food they normally did not eat: steaks, turkey, cookies, and canned vegetables. They also gave my husband gifts when he left. Visitors are normally offered tea and crackers in their friends' homes, and a dance is often held in honor of out of town visitors. When a neighbor in need asks to borrow food, he is often given more than he asks for. When a hunter has brought in a lot of meat, he often sends pieces to friends and relatives in the village. The first day I arrived in the village, an unknown and suspicious foreigner, I was invited in for coffee. But aside from one or two questions about the purpose of my stay, no curiosity was shown. It was not that people were not curious; it is simply that good manners prohibit curious questions.

Another valued personal trait is a sense of humor (Lantis 1959; Nelson 1969). The Eskimos love to laugh, and even months or years after some amusing incident has occurred, they laugh heartily when it is recalled. A man who can laugh is appreciated, but even more so is the man who can make others laugh. Such men are pleasant to be with. Potentially unpleasant situations can often be turned into sources of amusement. For example, a bitch in heat drew the attention of many dogs in the village, both those who were chained and those running loose. The noise and commotion caused by the dogs was distressing to the dog's owner, an elderly woman. But rather than letting her anger get the best of her, she made the dog a pair of pants from the cloth bags in which sugar is sold. The sight of the dog wearing pants was hilarious to everyone; and although the incident had occurred more than five years before I arrived, people still told me the story and laughed as much as they had the first time they saw the dog.

It has been noted previously that Eskimos are competitive. Each attempts to do his best at his tasks and tries to measure up to the valued ideals of personal behavior because he wants to be good, even the best, at what he does. But the competition is a quiet one. Aggressive competition, achievement of one's goals at the expense of others, is undesireable. For in spite of the individualism so pervasive in

Eskimo society, there is also a high value placed on the social morality of the group, which Lantis identifies as a focal value of group survival. Group survival depends on cooperation (Lantis 1959; Nelson 1899: 294). If an individual is unable to bring in food for his family, take care of his children, or perform a particular task alone, someone will help him. I view the prevalence of adoption in this context. If a mother is unable to care for her infant for some reason, another will adopt it. Cooperation for the survival of the child, part of the group, means that even a woman who already has many small mouths to feed will take in another which is not her own. The mother, because of the love she has for her own child and in spite of the value placed on having many children, will give her infant away in order that it will be cared for.

The value of group survival also works at times to overcome the basic individualistic tendencies. In traditional society, it was the right of the victim to avenge crimes against him. If, however, the offender were a chronic criminal, the group would act as a whole to ostracize, punish, exile, or even kill him. The maintenance of group cohesion and elimination of societal disruption were important enough to stimulate the cooperation of all its members to ensure it. The spirit of cooperation within the group is one which may at first seem discrepant when we consider the basic individualism prevalent in Eskimo society, but the two are counterbalanced in Eskimo ethics. No individual attempts to "stand out" in a socially disapproved manner (Menager 1962: 36) The idea is to balance individual achievement with conformity. A show off is not admired (Senungetuk 1971: 45), and adults are "expected to fit unobtrusively into the community" (Oswalt 1967: 205). Individualism is not supposed to lead to conflict or disruption (Lantis 1946: 62; Birket-Smith 1971: 59-60).

Another value is one placed on cooperation between the sexes. As noted earlier in a discussion of roles, men and women have separate but complementary duties. Each takes pride in doing his own tasks well, but there is a division of labor. In public this division between males and females is expressed in their physical separation. Men and women sit separately at many public gatherings, such as council meetings, dances, and 4th of July games. Men tend to dominate these public activities, while women rule the private domain, taking charge of the home and family life. Both domains are important; roles of men and women in each are separate, but the cooperation of both insures a smooth functioning of the whole. The value of equality is expressed the lack of domination by one sex in all domains, both public and private.

A new value related to the individual and his dealings with his fellow men is one which is only beginning to be felt here. That is the value placed on being well educated. To be able to deal effectively with the English speaking world and to understand the government policies affecting them, the Eskimos must be educated. Men who are capable in this capacity are elected as leaders of the council. The people generally value the education their children are receiving at

the school, even if they do not always appreciate the concurrent demise of Eskimo lifeways.

Man's Relationships to Things

A focal value identified by Lantis is the "devaluation of possessiveness." This accounts, in part, for an absence of land ownership among Eskimos (Lantis 1959) and provides a foundation for such personal traits as generosity, hospitality, and sharing. Men of wealth share with others by giving gifts at celebrations. Today we see this value in operation at seal parties, where women who can afford to distribute gifts to all the other women in the village on the occasion of the hostess' child's "first" celebration or when her husband brings home his first seal of the spring. Such ceremonies, and the ancient festivals, served as economic levelers. Accumulation of goods was not extensive and served primarily as a supply of gifts for others. Such generosity was not purely altruistic; a man who shared generously with others gained a great deal of prestige. But the point is that it was not the material goods themselves which held the primary value in these transactions.

Another value related to things or objects was that placed on skill in craftsmanship. Men and women both took great pride in their abilities to construct tools, weapons, and clothing of high quality and aesthetic design. Non-functional decoration was added to fine garments, and painted designs embellished some equipment. Toys made for children were beautiful models of adult equipment or specialized playthings such as ivory storyknives and leather balls.

Today this value is undergoing some change. A cash economy has been introduced and people now want to buy commercially manufactured goods with money they save. Because they can buy articles more easily than they can make them, pride in skilled craftsmanship is on the decline. Also, because money is needed to buy western goods, and such goods are highly desired, there is more of a tendency to hoard. A refrigerator, a radio, a snow machine--these are not distributable commodities which can be shared at feasts. A new value on acquisition of material status symbols is increasingly evident. There was always a value on owning something beautiful, but the personal pride in having it through skillful craftsmanship is gone when goods are manufactured impersonally en masse and then bought.

While I am not aware of a comparable situation in Tununak, in another southwestern Alaskan village it has been reported that individuals feel possessive of their belongings, and friction results when someone borrows another's tools or weapons and does not return them (Oswalt 1963: 82).

Man's Relationships to the Environment

In a hunting society, particularly one in a harsh environment, it is not surprising that a high value is placed on acquiring knowledge and understanding of that environment. To succeed in hunting, a man must understand animal behavior, the weather conditions which affect his safety, and the land or ocean on which he travels. He must be cautious but not fearful in dealing with the dangerous conditions of hunting in the north. He must be ingenious at devising on-the-spot solutions to problems which arise on the hunt (Nelson 1969: 381). Because knowledge of the environment is so crucial to survival in this land, one must have an excellent memory of his experiences, both successful and unsuccessful. What he learns through his own efforts may be useful in the future. But in such a harsh environment, one cannot rely only on one's own experiences to gain sufficient knowledge. He must listen to the experiences of others, to learn from them (Nelson 1969: 374). Remembering what others have done in similar situations may help him in an emergency later. Thus a high value was placed on a good memory and on attention to many details in a situation. A good memory is one of the most highly valued assets of any individual in a society which has no system of writing, for members must remember what they learn. Knowledge becomes wisdom, but knowledge depends on memory in such a society.

Intimate knowledge of the environment and animal behavior is a major key to the success of a hunter, and thus to the ultimate survival of his family. A focal value related to this aspect of Eskimo culture is respect for animals (Lantis 1959). While this also falls, in the traditional culture, under the realm of religion as well, respect for animals goes hand in hand with man's knowledge of and dependence upon them in a hunting society.

Man's Relationships to the Supernatural

The aboriginal religion of Eskimos was animistic. There was no supreme deity, but many individual spirits existed, of man, of animals, and of inanimate objects. Most religious ceremonies were directed to propitiation of spirits of animals, for it was believed that if the spirits were treated well, they would permit themselves to be recaptured in their successive reincarnations. Respect for animals was a focal value in their lives (Lantis 1959). Today, the Roman Catholic church is the dominant religious influence in their lives. A high value is placed on following the moral standards set by the church, and a deeply religious person is respected in the community. Working for the church is considered desireable, and many individuals teach catechism and participate in the meetings of the sodality and parish council. Seeing a religious vision is considered a sign of favor, and many mothers rush to tell the missionaries of their children's reports of angels and Jesus Christ, seen at various times and in various places by the children. Beyond this, the moral precepts followed are similar to those which have always operated in Eskimo society: cooperation;

equality of individual opportunity; charity; generosity; non-aggression, and so on.

Values in Games

As hunters, Eskimos place a high value on hunting, hunting skill, and hunting achievement (Lantis 1959; Nelson 1969). It has been only recently that a cash economy has affected the subsistence patterns of Tununak residents, and government welfare now provides them with economic security beyond the subsistence level. A man's prestige is still, however, measured to a great extent in terms of his hunting skill. Games which demand dexterity, strength, and endurance are quite obviously functional in a society so dependent on these qualities in its members, both male and female. The significance of this type of game is further apparent when we discover that games of physical skill and games of memory-attention were the only kinds played in the traditional culture, and of 48 games currently played in Tununak, 34 are games in which physical skill is the dominant mode of competition. In addition to formal games of physical skill, many of the toys which children play with are models of adult tools and weapons. Small bows and arrows and spears are used for practice by boys, and girls play at cutting and sewing small clothes for their dolls. Both, then, are practicing skills they will later use as adults.

Success in all traditional games and in most contemporary games depends exclusively on a player's individual ability. Because of the equal potential for achievement (Oswalt 1967: 206), individuals are responsible only to themselves for their success or failure in life. This fundamental individualism has been noted by many ethnographers (Lantis 1946: 254; Hippler and Conn 1973: 5; Oswalt 1967: 192; Birket-Smith 1971: 61). While the structure of society is basically egalitarian, individual behavior, particularly in economic pursuits, is competitive. Games in which individual potential for achievement is uniform are by far the most popular among Eskimos, both in the past and now. To win, one must compete. Competition is enjoyed, and nearly all games are competitive games (there are very few games which have no element of competition). Old games such as dart toss, juggling, tag, and contests of strength, such as high jumping, wrestling and foot racing, test the ability of each individual participant. Many new games adopted by Eskimos are also essentially individual tests: marbles and jacks are two examples.

While emphasis on individuality in achievement, both in real life and in games, has fostered a spirit of competition among Eskimos, but mitigating the disruptive aspects of aggressive competition is the social morality of the group. It is realized, or at least used to be,

that the group is the only insurance an individual has. Cooperation is essential in maintaining the harmony of the group.

The kind of competition I saw in Eskimo games is one in which everyone tries to do his best, but not at anyone else's expense (Senungetuk 1971: 145). The high value placed on non-aggression within the group is reflected in the lack of malice in games and sports among Eskimos. Even in the most painful contests of endurance, such as mouth pulling, finger pulling, and other trials (which I have not observed in Tununak but have seen at the Eskimo Olympics in Fairbanks, Alaska), participants do not become angry at one another because of the discomfort each is inflicting on the other. This contrasts with an Anglo-American sport such as hockey in which players often become enraged during play, and the game erupts into a fight. Nothing is more repulsive to the Eskimo than anger or violence (Birket-Smith 1971: 61). Eskimo losers are good sports. They leave laughing; the audience laughs when someone loses or looks funny or makes a mistake; and participants derive much amusement from playing. Lantis says of Eskimo players, they "...never seemed to care who won. It was all in fun..." (1946: 214).

Humor is greatly valued among all Eskimos. The children reflect this when they play. Even cheaters do not evoke an angry response but an amused one. The other players yell "cheat-uk" good naturedly and laugh; in fact cheating is blatant when it occurs, as if done to amuse oneself and others. There was only one case of covert cheating which I knew about. During the organized game night for children in the community hall, one boy, who was secluded outside with the others who were to take turns running an abstacle course blindfolded (game #36), was caught peering in the window to see what the trick was. He was brought in to have a short talk with the organizer of the game because it was feared that he would tell the other volunteers and thus ruin the game for everyone. That his cheating affected the entire group was, I believe, the reason any action was taken. However, after a brief talk with the organizer, the boy emerged smiling and the game went on. There was no more said about it.

Another value expressed in games is the "devaluation of possessiveness." In general, there is very little, if any, emphasis in games upon equipment. One of the favorite games, Lapp game (#5), resembles baseball in that a ball is hit with a bat, but the bat need only be a handy piece of wood. In another popular game that has been introduced, marbles (#21), children bring one marble to the game and leave with that same marble. The game they play has no provisions for winning another player's marble. They do know a game in which the object is to gain possession of others' marbles, but they rarely play it. In all my months there, I knew of only one occasion on which it was played. A novice player who had lost his marble to an opponent sat off to the side waiting for the game to end so his marble would be returned. When it was explained that it would not be, he was incredulous. It appeared to me that since this game is so rarely played, the children, who played

marbles in little groups throughout the village almost every day during the summer of 1974, were indeed expressing a preference. They enjoyed the contest of skill, but did not choose to take each others' marbles as prizes. Consistent with the idea that one man's gain need not be another's loss, that is the winner takes nothing away from the losers, is the custom of giving prizes. There are reports in the literature of the winner of one game putting up the prize for the next (Lathrop 1969: 9), so only the winner of the final game was a winner in the material sense. Today in Tununak, when games are held on the 4th of July, <u>everyone</u> who plays receives a prize, whether or not he wins. On a game night for the children, no prizes at all were given.

It was noted earlier that because of the changes Eskimo culture is undergoing as an adaptation to modern technology, economy and lifestyles, many individuals now find that it is becoming increasingly important to be well educated in order to cope with the complexities of modern civilization. What we see now in the game repertoire is still a preponderance of games of physical skill, but these, along with memory-attention games, are not the only kinds now played. Games of strategy, such as checkers (#14) and chess (#19), games combining chance and strategy, such as board games and card games, and sports such as basketball (#8) and touch football (#24) which combine an element of strategy with physical skill have been adopted by the children and adults. The relationship of games of strategy to cultural complexity has been discussed by Roberts, Arth, and Bush (1959) who have found games of strategy only in complex societies. Following their line of thinking, we can say that acceptance of games of strategy is consistent with new values regarding competence in coping with the complexities of modern life, particularly since the recent settlement of the Native Land Claims with its complicated legal and economic significance for the natives of Alaska and the new demands on community leaders to formulate long range plans and goals for the group, such as selecting the lands to be permanently owned by the village.

The value placed on skill in manufacture of tools, weapons, and crafts is one which was apparent in aboriginal times in the kinds of toys parents made for their children. Smooth leather balls decorated with insets of different colored leathers or precisely cut shapes in fur were works of art as much as they were toys. Ivory storyknives and finely constructed bows and arrows, painted with designs in natural pigments were evidence of the appreciation for craft and form. Today children have very few homemade toys, and the few there are usually crudely made. The value of craftsmanship seems to have declined significantly. Money is now used to buy children's toys.

Another value discussed previously is that of permissiveness in social relations. Manifestations of this attitude can be found in children's games. One occasion was a marble game played by five boys about 8 to 10 years old. A baby girl toddled through the middle of the playing area, stepping of the marbles and interfering with the play. But the boys ignored her and waited for her to leave rather than getting

angry and pushing her out of the way. This example also illustrates the value of egalitarianism. There is respect for older people, and they have more influence than the young, but each individual has worth, and no age group is excluded from participating as he wishes. The young child who disrupts a game is allowed to leave at her own pace or is gently coaxed away. I found this example striking in its contrast to the typically angry reactions of Anglo-American children to intrusions and disruptions by younger siblings. Perhaps it is this patience with others' idiosyncrasies, the acceptance of each's equal rights which helps us to understand why young children are treated so permissively, allowed to run noisily around the church during services, crawl under the seats at movies, and wander out on the floor at dances. It is the nature of children to do so; the people accept it and tolerate it rather than exclude children from participating by leaving them behind.

The high value of good socialization of the passive type is less clearly expressed in games. It could be argued that the absence of central-person or dominant roles in games is reflective of the Eskimo aversion to attracting attention to himself, though it could equally be argued that it reflects the value of equality and individualism in Eskimo society. There were a few examples of behavior which might reflect this passivity. I noticed that when a player was injured in a game, no one comforted or even acknowledged her. The injured player stood alone and cried silently until the pain lessened, then returned to the game. No comment was made by her or the others.

Respect for animals which Lantis mentions as a focal value is one which I find no expression of in games, at least not explicitly. So far as I can determine, this was not a value expressed in aboriginal games I know nor is it expressed in introduced games. The only possible example of an ancient respect for animals is in the naming of teams after animals which was done among other Eskimo groups (Birket-Smith 1929: 273). I have no information on this custom among Nelson Islanders in earlier times or in the present. Furthermore, I find no expression of values related to the Eskimos' contemporary Christian beliefs regarding the supernatural. The only reference to any supernatural being or spirit is the "ghost" or "it" in tag games at night. Thus, of the six focal values listed by Lantis, only that pertaining to religion is not expressed in games. It is a value clearly reflected in other expressive behavior, such as dance (Ager 1975-76).

Knowledge of the environment which is so highly valued in hunters is another value not now reflected in games of children or adults. I saw no evidence that the value of listening to others and learning from their experiences finds any expression in games.

Another important value which did not seem to be reflected in games is hospitality. In the old days, often a visit from one or more men from another village was the occasion for adult game playing in the qazgiq, but games were also played when there were no visitors, and the

games of children show no relationship whatever to visits from outsiders and the hospitality extended to visitors.

A final point I wish to make with regard to games is that children play few formal games in their total play time (Oswalt notes this of Napaskiak as well, 1963). Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg (1971: 44-45) have suggested that the trend away from formal games to informal play activities among Anglo-American children may be explained by the changes in the society they live in--a society increasingly permissive and more informal in social relationships, particularly in relationships with parents. If this is true, we could suggest that it may apply cross-culturally as well: one reason for the relative scarcity of formal games compared to informal play activities among Eskimo children may be the value of equality and informality in social relationships in their society. Eskimo preference for the unstructured and the permissive in their society may partially explain the children's preference for informal play. Interestingly, if they adapt completely to modern western civilization, they should introduce more formal organization and structure in their social organization, as indeed they are already doing. Perhaps we shall see an increase in the number of formal games played by children in the future. Because we cannot rely completely on subjects' statements about games played in the past (Sutton-Smith 1965), we cannot draw conclusions about the number of formal games played by children in the past, but the data I have suggest that the total number of games may have increased due to the influx of new types of games (board games, card games) as well as new games of old types, such as physical skill contests.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This study has been an attempt to view Eskimo games of children and adults in their aboriginal and contemporary cultural contexts in the Nelson Island village of Tununak. Several central problems were involved:

1. to provide a contemporary ethnography of Tununak based on field research in that community, and to discuss traditional culture of southwestern Alaskan Eskimos as it was recorded in the literature of the early contact period;

2. to compile an inventory of current games in Tununak and a list of games that are no longer played but are remembered by older informants from their childhood;

3. to define the role structure of aboriginal society and of contemporary society for purposes of comparison and discussion of culture change;

4. to discuss the traditional value system of Eskimos in terms of focal values and significant ideals as standards for personal conduct;

5. to demonstrate the operation of specific values in games;

6. to discuss player organization in games as a reflection of role structure in society;

7. to correlate the adoption of new games over the last fifty years, or so, with changes which have taken place in role structure and values as a result of acculturation.

The investigation is reported in seven main sections: an introduction and statement of the research goals and a new definition of game; review of the relevant literature of play and games; field site selection, methodology, and personal conditions of the investigator in the field; ethnographic setting or context for games; role structure in society

and in games; cultural values and their reflection in games; major conclusions of the study.

Conclusions

This study has viewed Eskimo games as a reflection of cultural values and social organization. While many scholars have suggested a relationship between games and role organization and have categorized games as expressive behavior, they have not systematically examined the relationship in a specific non-western society. What this study has found is that we can indeed see the operation of specific values in game preferences, game attitudes and game organization, and that the influence of acculturation on some values can be detected in game inventory changes. The relationship between societal role structure and game role structure is less clear due to the uneven process of culture change in the community studied. Thus, while aboriginal or traditional game organization seems to reflect role structure in the aboriginal culture, changes in role structure have not yet resulted in significant changes in game organization even in games recently introduced. One of three conclusions could be made from these data: (1) role structure in games has remained stable because children's game organization does not reflect adult social organization but only children's knowledge of it (suggested by Sutton-Smith and Gump 1955); (2) there is no significant relationship between patterns in community role structure and game organization, thus changes in one will have no effect on changes in the other; (3) game organization has not changed significantly in this community because the influence of conservative cultural values is stronger than the influence of patterns in social organization, and changes in values have not kept pace with changes in social structure, in which case, we may see changes in game organization in the future when values and role structure are more fully integrated in this community.

I would tentatively suggest the last conclusion. I believe that there is a relationship between game organization and social structure which can be seen in the aboriginal context. The egalitarian structure of Eskimo communities in this region of Alaska is reflected in games which have no central-persons, minimal, if any, differentiation of roles, absence of unique power function in roles, and criteria for winning which are based on individual skill and performance. But while there is general support in the literature on play and in the relationship of aboriginal Eskimo social organization and traditional game organization to support my view, further study of specific communities will be necessary to demonstrate or refute it. The first conclusion is supported by a study of young American children (Sutton-Smith and Gump 1955) whose games reflected their knowledge of social organization rather than the actual adult role structure of their society. However, I would argue that in the community of Tununak, children have greater access to knowledge of adult role structure due to their opportunities to attend all community functions, and their freedom to observe all aspects of community and family life. I do not believe that their

knowledge of adult role structure is incomplete, although attempt to interview children systematically on their knowledge of role structure in the community were not fruitful. Moreover, if only the children's knowledge of social organization, rather than the actual community role structure, were reflected in games, we could expect to see more central-person games in their repertoire, since for the better part of five days a week they are in school classrooms which are structured in a rigid, hierarchical fashion. The teacher is an authority and power figure while the children's individuality has little opportunity for expression. Teaching is done to groups of children whose performances may vary but who are nevertheless categorized in ranks: good students; average students, and so on. That the adult present has such control and is very strict with the children has not meant that the children accept formal games mirroring this relationship. On the contrary, they still play games whose organization is similar to that of traditional games. Furthermore, children's game organization is the same as adult game organization. Both reflect the traditional role structure in Eskimo society.

My conclusion would be that values have a more important effect on game patterns when values and role structure are not fully consistent and integrated. We have seen that in Tununak, values have not changed as much as role structure, which now allows for much more differentiation than in traditional society. It is not unlikely, therefore, that since values have not kept pace with changes in social organization in the Eskimo culture, values have also remained a more conservative influence on games. The actual behavior of people, influenced by their values, has in some instances worked against the operation of new role structure in this village. In games, too, conservative values have minimized change. Even in introduced games, differentiation of roles and aggressive competition have been modified to be more consistent with traditional patterns. Basketball, Monopoly, marbles, and other games have been changed to Eskimo versions. King of the mountain and hide and seek are played in teams more often than as central-person games. However, in a more acculturated village, one in which there has been a longer period of contact, one might find that changes have occurred in game organization. There has evidently not been enough time for this to occur in Tununak.

Values expressed in games are both major cultural values and valued personal traits. The key to understanding the character of games in Tununak appears to me to lie in the duality of the competition-cooperation ethic. On the one hand individualistic pursuits are the avenue to prestige, respect, and influence in the group, yet individualism does not lead to solitude. The male may hunt or manufacture and repair equipment alone or with a partner, but he has another half to his team: his wife. Their skills are complementary, and their efforts must be combined before self-sufficiency can be achieved. Each works alone, but together, individually but cooperatively. The individual is also part of his community, and while his economic activities may be individual, he is a social being. He depends on his group for social

compatibility and social interaction. Thus he concerns himself with his place in that group and cooperates, adjusts, and conforms to fit into it.

We see the spirit of competition working harmoniously with the principle of cooperation, and games are one of the aspects of culture in which the harmony is clear.

We see that the traditional hunting complex requiring individual initiative, memory, and physical strength fosters values which are expressed in the types of games traditionally played by Eskimos, i.e., games of physical skill and games requiring both dexterity and memory-attention, such as string figures and juggling. The cultural value placed on individuality and self-reliance but without disruption of group unity and solidarity is expressed in attitudes in games, that is, pleasurable competition but absence of humiliation for the losers, and in humor which envelops game playing, as well as in interaction patterns which are multilateral and inter-group. The general lack of emphasis on material possessions is reflected in players' careless attitudes toward game equipment and in minimal emphasis on prizes in competitions. New values associated with competence in the complex modern world may be related to increasing interest in games of strategy, where the emphasis is on testing the mind rather than the body. Finally, infrequency of formal games is an indication of values as well. In Tununak, formal games are less frequent than informal play activities, and this may be a reflection of the high value placed on informal, permissive relationships in social relations.

In Chapter II, which dealt with previous research into games, I discussed the significant findings of another investigation into Eskimo games conducted by Glassford (1970) in the Mackenzie Delta Region of Canada. In summarizing the present findings from Nelson Island, it seems pertinent to compare the results of these two games studies.

While both Glassford's study and mine deal with Eskimo games, there are several important differences between them. We were both concerned with game organization as it relates to organization of other aspects of culture. His emphasis, however, was upon organization of goals, strategies, and steps of operation in games, whereas I focused on organization of players themselves. His feeling was that games would reflect economic organization patterns (p. 244) whereas I hypothesized that games would reflect role structure and values. These two approaches are by no means mutually exclusive, given the integrated nature of culture. They are merely two different directions taken to reach the same goal: to find a relationship between organization of games and organization of the social system in general. Glassford's study of changes dealt with changes in different generations' preferences for the types of traditional games, whereas I was concerned more with the new, introduced games adopted by Eskimos and how they related to social change. His comparison of generational preferences was more detailed than mine, since he compared three generations while I compared

only games played in 1973-74 with games played "in the past" (unspecified). Most importantly, his study was conducted among Mackenzie Delta Eskimos and mine among Nelson Island Eskimos. These two groups are separated not only by a vast geographical span but also by many cultural differences, among them the different economic foci (caribou in Mackenzie Delta; seal and fish on Nelson Island) and different languages (Inupik in Mackenzie; Yupik on Nelson Island). His fieldwork, in two seasons, lasted 62 days; mine, in two seasons, lasted 8 months. Methodology differed considerably. Although we both employed observation, discussion with Eskimos, and material in the literature, his results depended primarily upon information gained in interviews and questionnaires while mine were based mostly on direct observation.

In attempting to compare my findings with his, I was unable to decide into which of his categories the Nelson Island games fell. This was not because the games were significantly different. The specification of goals and strategies can only be known at the emic level, it seems, to me, and I did not obtain a greal deal of information of that nature. However, it is unclear to me how he arrived at his criteria for classifying particular games in his study. For example, he classifies jacks as an amusement (unspecified goals and unspecified strategies), blanket toss as a cooperative game (unspecified goals and specified strategies), and follow the leader as an individual self-testing game (specified goals and specified strategies). Glassford defines a specified goal as one which can be achieved by only one player or a unit of players, thus the other players will be unable to achieve it (p. 12). I fail to see why achievement of the goal by one player in follow the leader would preclude the other players achieving the same goal: to keep up with the leader. He defines a strategy as a "selection of a move or maneuver available to a player for all possible circumstances that may arise during the course of play," e.g., a set of directions. I am unclear as to why the directions or maneuvers for follow the leader are any more specified than those of jacks. It appears to me that in all three games, goals are unspecified in that they are only to "do one's best," and that the strategies are also relatively unspecified: in jacks only to catch the ball, in blanket toss only to jump high and land safely upright, and in follow the leader to simply do what the leader does. Because of my own confusion on these points, I cannot usefully employ Glassford's classification system for the games of Tununak for the purposes of comparing our findings.

I did find many other points of agreement between the two studies, however. Both recognized the low level of structural organization of games and lack of player differentiation, as well as the fact that most games involve short-term, few-step operations (Glassford 1970: 196). Both point out the minimal emphasis on equipment (p. 197). And even in team games, players tend to act as individuals rather than relying heavily on assistance from teammates (p. 197). Both studies noted that child rearing practices were generally permissive for both sexes (p. 197). There seems to be general consensus on the types of games played, using the Roberts, Arth, and Bush (1959) typology; that is, most

games are games of physical skill. The only exception is that there appears to be more interest in gambling games in the traditional repertoire of this area than there was on Nelson Island.

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APPENDIX A

Descriptions of Tununak Eskimo Games

Each of the games described below is assigned a number which also appears in parentheses in the tables and text for easy reference. When a standard English name of the game was known, it was used to identify the game; I made up names for other games. When the local Yupik name was known, that, too, was included. Games are grouped: the first group consists of games currently played in the village (1973-74); group two consists of games played only inside the school building under a teacher's direction; and the third group consists of games described to me by residents but which are no longer played, so far as I could determine. When games were thought to be well-known to Anglo-American readers, complete descriptions were not always given. References at the end of descriptions are for descriptions of the same or similar games in other ethnographies.

1. KEEP AWAY (angkalutn). A middle-aged informant told me that in her mother's youth, this was the only form of ball game played but in her own youth it was rare. It is now popular with boys and girls from ages 6-7 to early teens. A ball is used as the object which one team attempts to toss back and forth to each other without letting any member of the opposite team catch it. Any number may play, from 3 on up. If a member of the opposite team succeeds in catching the ball, the teams switch roles. No score is kept and there are no readily apparent field lines or boundaries (Nelson 1899: 336; Lantis 1946: 50).

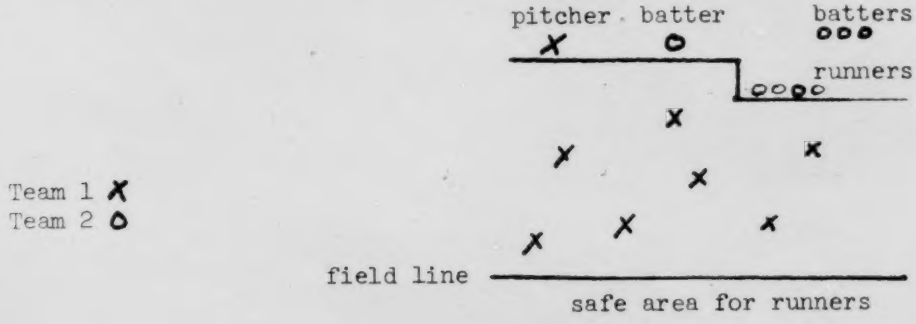
2. TAG (yakēchēma). Tag is played in several forms. The object is for one player, the "it" to touch another player, who then becomes the "it." It is a chasing game. In one variation, children smeared their hands with white chalk, and the "it" rubbed it over the face of the player he tagged. In another variation, players chased each other through a turning jump rope. In some games, "it" must touch his captive only once; if he accidently touches him twice, the tag is invalid. In a rougher form of tag, played by a group of boys, "it" hit or punched his captive. In still another version, "it" had to tickle his victim. In another, the tagged person's hair was pulled. Players from 3-4 through early adolescence enjoyed this game, and it appears to be ancient and widespread among Eskimos (Freuchen 1961: 119; Lantis 1946: 9). No playing field boundaries are established.

3. HOCKEY (kalutuk). A playing field of indeterminate size is established with two goal lines, one at each end. Two teams compete to get a ball over their goal lines by hitting it with wooden sticks. Within teams, there is no player specialization; each individual player tries to hit the ball across his team's line. Strategy is minimal, since teams do not plan moves ahead of time nor do they rely heavily upon each other for assistance and cooperation. Any number of players are permitted, and since it is a rough game, boys are the most frequent players, from age 10 or thereabouts into early manhood. Hockey is played either on the ground or on ice. Now commercial skates are purchased, but before these were available, homemade skates were made from wood and metal strips found around barrels (Nelson 1899: 337).

4. SOCCER. This is played in pairs or in teams. A playing field with no fixed dimensions is established. The goal is to kick a ball over one's goal line; the goal lines for two teams or individuals are located at opposite ends of the field. This is a game played by both sexes and all ages of children and adolescents. (It is mentioned for men by Nelson 1899: 335).

5. LAPP GAME Lapp game is played in two teams. One team is up to bat while the other is in the field. The game resembles baseball in that a bat is used to hit a ball, and runners attempt to get around the field and back to home without being tagged. However, no score is kept, and there are several differences between standard baseball and Lapp game. The pitcher stands next to the batter to toss the ball straight up in the air for him. If the batter strikes out, he goes to a line of runners. If he hits, he may try to run to the far end of the field before someone throws the ball at him and hits him. The goal of field players is to catch the ball and then hit a runner with it. When a batter hits a ball, other members of his team who are waiting in the runners line may also choose to run down the field, thus field players have many targets to throw at. If the batter does not hit the ball very far and knows that he cannot run without being tagged, he may choose to go to the line of runners to wait until another batter from his team has hit the ball more successfully. When the last batter is up to bat, he may hit the ball several times before he chooses to run, but if he misses, the "inning" is over. Once a runner reaches the far end of the field, he has the option of remaining there as "safe" until he is ready to try running back to home. The two teams exchange places when any one of the following occurs: (1) a field player catches a fly ball; (2) all members of the batting team are running or in the safe end zone and a member of the field team throws a ball across their home base; (3) the last batter misses the ball. This game is the most popular in Tununak for nearly all ages, including some adults. It is played outdoors during nice weather in spring, summer, and early fall. The position of pitcher rotates frequently during each game, so no one individual is pitcher for an entire game. There is another

position which rotates: a player who stands about 30 feet in front of the batter (in the position of the pitcher in standard baseball) and gives the ball to the pitcher as well as threatens potential runners from the opposite team by pretending to throw the ball at them when he thinks they are getting ready to run. No score is kept, and players play until they are tired, sometimes for a couple of hours. Teams sometimes are chosen by two players who initiate the game. Sometimes this is done rather casually and informally, but I have seen two "captains" work their hands alternately up the bat to see whose hand reaches the tip; the one whose hand is on top has the privilege of selecting the first team member. Newcomers arbitrarily choose their side if they enter after the game has begun. More frequently, all team members arbitrarily group themselves into two teams. Some boys who are up to bat spit on the ground in front of them, touch the tip of the bat to that spot, and than raise it to batting position. I observed one boy spitting directly on his bat. The origin of this game is unknown, but I suspect it was modified from baseball which was introduced by an Anglo-American school teacher sometime in the 1920's. I do not have any information on how it acquired its name. Lapps were brought to Alaska in the early decades of this century to teach the Eskimos to herd reindeer when that industry was introduced. There was a reindeer herding industry on Nelson Island (informants told me between 1928 and the 1940's), but I do not know if Lapps were there. Following is a diagram of the Lapp game playing field. No fixed distances are established for the boundaries.



6. KING OF THE MOUNTAIN. One or more players defend a small area or territory from the other players who attempt to push the defenders away. This is a pushing game. Often the territory is a small mound of earth or a wooden platform in the school yard. I saw this game played only during recess at school, usually by boys between the ages of 7 and 14, but occasionally girls participated too. It is much more common for there to be several "kings" rather than only one, and the number of players ranged from 3 or 4 to 10 or more. This may be an introduced game, for I found no references to it in literature on traditional Eskimo games, and as Glassford has

pointed out (1970: 315) the concept of territory was unknown in the aboriginal culture and in traditional games.

7. VOLLEYBALL. This was played exclusively on the school grounds, usually during recess when children had access to school balls and a convenient metal buttress to the workshed which served as a "net." Two teams competed to keep the ball volleying across the net by pushing it with their hands. If the ball landed on the ground, the team whose side it landed on lost. No score was kept, and there appeared to be no rigid boundaries to the playing court. Players were both boys and girls, often in mixed groups, of all school ages, although older students tended to play this more frequently than did the younger children. This is an introduced sport.

8. BASKETBALL AND BASKET SHOOTING. Basketball as played in the western world is known only by young men who have been away to high schools or the military. When they return to the village, they play a rather casual version of standard basketball which resembles more a practice than an actual game. However, they do attempt to guard, take the ball away from opponents, and organize themselves into teams. Younger boys, and infrequently girls, do little more than shoot baskets. They compete as individuals and no score is kept. Once a player has possession of the ball, he is given a clear chance to shoot, almost as though he were taking a foul shot. If he succeeds, he is given another chance. If he misses, the others scramble to grab the ball. The net is located behind the school, and boys often practice shooting during recess. They also congregate there in the evenings and on weekends as well. Young boys rarely guard or attempt to take the ball away from another player, although there is some dribbling. No boundary lines are drawn in these games, and I have even seen players dribbling or running behind the basket board.

9. CHUKI-CHUKI. This is a rhyming game which also involves physical coordination. A pair of girls hold hands facing each other and chant "chū-ki, chū-ki, ē-mak-ō-chuk, ta--lē-ō-chuk." At the same time, they move their linked arms in a prescribed pattern. To the first 4 syllables (chuki, chuki) the first girl pushes her right arm forward, so that the second girl's left arm goes back, and at the same time pulls her left arm back, brining the second girl's right arm forward. This is done 4 times. To emakochuk, one pair of arms is crossed over the other, and to talleochuk, the second pair of arms is crossed over the first. The girls attempt to do this faster and faster, testing both verbal fluency and physical coordination.

10. STRING FIGURES (aiyak). This is known also in English as cat's cradle and involves manipulating a piece of string with the hands and fingers to make different patterns and shapes. It may be done alone, individually as a pastime, or it may be done by individuals

in groups who compete with each other to see who makes the figure fastest, and it may also be done by two individuals who work on the same figure by transferring it back and forth to each other. In the summer of 1973 this was a very popular activity for children and adults of both sexes, from the age of 4 or 5 on. Early that summer, an arts and crafts class taught by one of the local young women had included lessons on how to make string figures. This provided the impetus for a revival of the game, which had not been played for approximately 10 years. However, during the summer of 1974, I saw no one playing with string, so the game season for string figures lasted less than a year. One old man told me that in the old days, children were not permitted to play with string in spring and summer when the period of daylight is long, for tangles in the string might bring a longer, harder winter of storms. An old woman, however, told me that she had never heard of taboos restricting string figures to winters indoors. Before string was introduced, long grasses were used. The most popular figures of 1973 were those taught in the arts and crafts class, but the children's parents and grandparents begin to remember old figures they knew and teach them to the children. The English names of the figures I saw were the following: seagull; fishnet; dish; northern lights; butterfly; fishrack; tern; old lady; old man; big house; paddle; something or someone lying on top of a hill, ghost, tied to a pole who then unties himself, and the string falls to the ground; big eyes which turn into a big mouth and then into a ptarmigan which flies away; fox going into a hole; villages with a river between them; a gabled house; wolverine stomach; seal stomach; nest; shaman who is tied up and gets away; skin stretching for drying; spear. In addition, figures whose names could not be translated by players were these: ingapuk; tutimqalarik; mutkriut; and usungulut (described to me as a sea animal which is clear except for black and yellow "seeds" inside; it is tubular "like an intestine," has no shell, and lives in the mud). Mention of string figures is widespread in the literature on Eskimos (among them, Freuchen 1961: 120; Nelson 1899: 332).

11. DODGEBALL. A group of players, not differentiated into teams, throw a ball or balls at each other in an attempt to hit each other. Players scramble to get the ball (sometimes clumps of grass or any other handy objects are substituted for balls) to throw at other players, while those who have no ball try to dodge the throws of those who do. Both boys and girls play dodgeball, though it is more frequent among boys. Players range in age from approximately 4-5 to 13. No playing field is established by boundaries or lines (Nelson 1899: 337).

12. BALL OVER THE ROOF (anayŪmiak). Two teams place themselves on opposite sides of a cache (store shed). The first team throws a ball over the roof to the opposite team, who catch it and run around the building to throw the ball at members of the first team in an attempt to hit one of them. Any player who is hit must then

join the team which hit him. Children of both sexes from the ages of approximately 7 to 13-14 play this until they are tired or until all members of one team have been taken by the opposite team. I was told that in years past, beautifully made leather balls, decorated with inserts of different colored leather and filled with grass, were used in this game.

13. HIDE AND SEEK. This is normally played in teams outdoors. One team hides from the other team, who then searches for them. Once all hiders are found, the teams reverse roles, and the hiders then become seekers. I have also seen this game played indoors. The seeking team waits out on the porch while the other team hides around the house. Hide and seek is played by boys and girls from an early age when they are pulled along to hide with an older sibling up until the age of 12 or thereabouts. In one case I observed a group of girls hiding from a single boy. One girl told me that they do not play this game outdoors when it is dark because they fear being kidnapped by a witch (Freuchen 1961: 119; Lantis 1946: 50).

14. CHECKERS. This game is played often indoors during recess at school by students of the upper grades. The rules are standard, with one exception. Pieces may be moved any number of spaces on the diagonal, in the same manner as the bishop in a chess game. This usually means that games are over very quickly.

15. JUMP ROPE (yahaiak). Two individuals turn the rope while all other players jump through it. There are several variations. One is to attempt jumping as many times as possible (counting by numbers or reciting the ABC's), one count for each successful jump. When a player trips, he is "out," and the next in line takes a turn. This continues until all players are out. In one game I observed, a girl who jumped 29 times before missing was cheered loudly by the other players, who were all out. Another variation is for players each to take a turn jumping once, then each jumps twice, then three times, and so on. Once a player trips, he is out and waits on the side until all players are out. Older women described variations which I did not observe. In one, a song is sung while a rope is swung back and forth rather than being turned over. Two girls alternated jumping until one tripped. This was called "when the waves are coming in." In another contest, a song is sung while the rope is turned, but at certain verses the direction of the rope is reversed. Still another game involves alternating the direction of the rope at each turn. There is also individual rope jumping in which the jumper turns the rope for herself. Older people told me that when they were children, they were not permitted to jump rope until after the geese arrived in the spring or bad weather would plague the summer. I observed this game in Tununak most frequently during school recess. Children of all ages and both sexes played it. In addition, I once saw a group of young men playing it in the village, at first as a joke. But

then it became a semi-serious contest between them. One woman told me that jump rope is an aboriginal game (originally played with ropes of woven grass) while another said it was introduced by Anglo-Americans. It is mentioned in literature of the early contact period, and therefore may be a traditional game (Nelson 1899: 347; Lantis: 50).

16. JACKS. This is played with commercial metal jacks and a small rubber ball by girls between the ages of approximately 7 and 11. The games I observed were all the same: each player took a turn tossing the ball up with one hand, and with that same hand trying to pick up one jack before the ball bounced twice. If she succeeded, she tried the next time to pick up two jacks, then three, and so on. If she missed, the turn passed to the next player sitting in a circle on the floor. There were usually from 2 to 4 players.

17. POOL. A pool hall is attached to the back of the owner's house. Games are 25 cents each, and some betting on players and games occurs. I was told that the average bet is $1.00 per game. Since only men play pool, and women rarely, if ever, go into the pool hall, I did not feel free to observe pool games.

18. BINGO. This is played by adults only, mostly women, on Thursday and Sunday afternoons from 1:00 until 5:00, in the community hall. Cards are 5 cents each per game, and most women play with 10 to 20 cards each game. The winner of each game receives the money taken in for that game minus a small amount taken out for the village council who sponsors the games as a fund-raising activity. This is the only adult recreational activity which is not open to children; no children are permitted in the hall during Bingo games.

19. CHESS. This game is played with standard rules by some young men in the village. They seem very fond of it and played it frequently in the summer of 1974. No children or full-grown adults were observed playing this game.

20. HOPSCOTCH. This game is also called "jumping jack" by some girls. An outline of squares is drawn in the sand. Girls of between 6 and 12, approximately, play this, although one adolescent of 17 said she also sometimes plays it. Players take turns hopping on one foot through the single squares, but may land on both feet in the double squares. The object is to travel the entire length and back without touching the lines. A pebble is tossed into a square, and that square must be hopped over. (Hopscotch is recorded for Greenland Eskimos. Freuchen 1961: 119.)

21. MARBLES (the Eskimo children call this game marble-uk). Both boys and girls, separately or in mixed groups, played this almost daily in the summer of 1974, although I did not observe it at all in the summer of 1973. Players range in age from small tots who do not

understand the rules but simply practice throwing, rolling, or shooting marbles to young teenagers. It is similar to the game of Nucks or Nux described for Australian aboriginal children (Howard 1971: 186-7). Three small holes about one inch in diameter are dug in the earth in a straight line approximately 6 inches apart (the length varies and is not fixed). Each player has one marble, and the object is to shoot the marble with thumb and first two fingers into each of the 3 holes consecutively and then back again to the starting line. So long as a player gets his marble into a hole, he may continue to play. As soon as he misses, he gives the next player a turn. Any player has the option of trying to hit another player's marble instead of shooting for the hole. If he succeeds, he continues to take his turn. The advantage to shooting at another's marble instead of a hole is that one may be able to drive an opponent's marble far enough away so the opponent must "waste" time getting back to where he began. When a player gets his marble into a hole or hits another marble, he may take his next shot from a position the distance of his outstretched thumb and third finger from where he stopped during his last move. This distance may be measured in any direction. The first player to travel the 3 holes up and back again is the winner, but the game is not usually over until every player has done this.

22. HANDSTACKING. I saw this game played only once. Three adults, one woman and two men, were sitting indoors with all their hands stacked alternately on top of each other. The person whose hand was on top tried to hit the hand below him; if the second man moved his hand out of the way quickly, the third man's hand was struck. If the third man moved his hand quickly, the top man ended up hitting his own hand. The hand hit was then placed on the top of the stack and tried to then hit the hand below. This was a game of quick reflexes and much hilarity.

23. WRESTLING. Informal wrestling by pairs or groups of boys was quite common outdoors in grassy areas. The older school boys are coached in wrestling as a sport by the teacher, and competitions between villages (and between high schools) are held during the winter (Nelson 1899: 339; Metayer 1966: 17 indicate that is an ancient sport among Eskimos).

24. TOUCH FOOTBALL. Played in teams by young men and adolescent boys. The standard rules of touch football are followed.

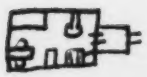
25. STORYKNIFING (storyknife is yahweh). This is a game played only by girls, usually from 4-5 until about 12. Girls squat in a circle and take turns telling stories to one another. The narrator uses a tableknife, stick, a flattened spoon, or a piece of flat metal filed down from a strip found around a barrel or crate to draw illustrations for her story in snow or mud. Illustrations are most frequently houses, furnishing, and characters in the story, but they also may be rivers, trees, fish drying racks and other

objects in the story setting. The houses are drawn in what I call a crude "blueprint" style, that is, an outline seen from above. An illustration follows below. Human characters are drawn below as well. Stories are usually ones the girls make up themselves using their own activities, movies they have seen, dreams, and elements from European folktales learned in school as sources for ideas. Two examples follow.

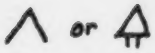
> This is Emily's house (names are fictitious). This is the door and this is another door. This is the hall, and this is closet, and this is the clothes, and this is my grandma's bed. This is clothes; this is the clothes; and this is table. This is clothes; and this is cupboard; and this is basin; and this is Harriet's bed; and we play outside; and we go (in) water. And Melissa and Ruth in there; and then we hide, Sally and me, we hide under the house, and we laughed and we said "doi" (which means "the end" or "enough"). An then go out; and they do like this--go this way, go this way. He went go run and he said, "Jane, Sally," and this is water, this is water too (puddle) and water, water. Melissa and Ruth, "Sally, Jane." And they go around, no, and he's serious. Melissa and Ruth, under the house. Sally and me. They see us, and we laughed, and we throw water. Doi. (told by a 9 year old girl)

> Once upon a time there was 3 girls and 2 boys. An their mother; and they don't have babies, and they don't have any dads, and brother said, "I'm going to be dad, and you gonna (have) big stomach, and we gonna have little baby." An she go to Anchorage, and they get baby, and she got little tiny baby, and the kids were very happy and go to bed and she eat some candy and go to movie and very, very happy and go to bed and she eat some candies and sleep. She sleep, sleep, sleep. And the mother saw the big bear and shoot it. The end. (told by a 7 year old girl)

In addition to telling stories with the storyknife, girls also have drawing contests in which they each draw a figure or a suit of clothes. An example is below, of a dress which was being drawn by each girl. In another form of the game, girls take turns drawing the "blueprint" outline of a village house and its furnishings. The others try to guess whose house it is. In another guessing game with the storyknife, girls draw something, often a facial feature or part of the anatomy, in such a way that it is not easily recognizable, and the other try to guess what it is. For example, was eyebrows and « was a leg. They also place leaves, grass or other objects in the mud, wipe the knife across it, and then lift it up to see the imprint. Storyknifing is very common in the summer.



a house

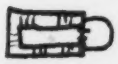


adult character

baby

dress

A middle-aged woman described the way storyknifing was played when she was young. The storyknife itself was carved of ivory, wood, or antler by a father or other male. The stories told then were usually about one of four subjects: (1) an old woman and her granddaughter; (2) a hero of the village, such as a man who was a great hunter; (3) traditional folktales; (4) about the girls themselves, their visits, trips, and things in peoples' homes. She mentioned that she never hears the children telling these old kinds of stories any more. She said there is another difference as well: now the girls play this game most frequently in the summer, whereas in her youth it was more common in the winter, out on the porch where there was a thin layer of snow in which to draw. Houses illustrated were the traditional semi-subterranean sod dwelling with benches around the interior and places marked with grass mats. Human characters were also drawn somewhat differently.

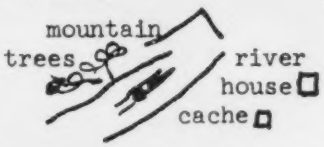


aboriginal house

a grandparent or old person

young woman

young man



person traveling on a river

Storyknifing is evidently an ancient game (Oswalt 1964), and it is found only among Yupik speaking Eskimos. There are variations in the symbols used for human characters, but the settings are illustrated similarly in nearly all villages (Ager 1971; 1974).

26. MONOPOLY. This is a familiar commercial board game in which players move around the board to the roll of dice, and property on which a player's piece lands may be purchased if it is unowned. If it is owned, he must pay rent to the owner. The standard rules are followed, but I noticed that players are very casual about buying property and often pass up the opportunity to do so. It is played by adolescents of both sexes in small groups.

27. EYEWITNESS. This is a commercial board game purchased at the native store. It consists of many cards on which various scenes have been painted. The "leader" selects a card and shows it to the other players for several seconds. Then she administers a test which comes with the game to see how much detail from the pictures the players can remember. The one who remembers the most, i.e., answers the most questions correctly, is the winner. This

game was played by girls ages 8 and 11 on the two occasions I observed it.

28. POLLYANNA. A commercial board game for 2, 3, or 4 players. Each player has 4 pieces which he must move completely around the board back to his starting position (home). The number of spaces each piece may be moved is determined by a roll of a die, and if a player's piece lands on a spot occupied by another player's piece, the latter must return to the starting position and begin again. The first player to move all 4 pieces around the board is the winner. This game was played by young women and men on the occasions I observed it, but it was suitable for younger children and may have been played by them when I was not around to watch. The sex and age of players depends primarily upon who owns the game.

29. BATTLESHIP. Commercial board games known to me only as part of a
30. STRATEGO. list of games played during one game night at the community hall. A girl of 11 described the activities to me, but I never saw the game played nor heard anyone mention it again.

31. RUMMY. Two, three, or four players from ages 9-10 into adulthood enjoy rummy. The object is to get rid of all one's cards by matching them in 3's or 4's in consecutive numbers within the same suit or by the same number in any of the suits. Players follow standard rules, but some individuals prefer to play in partners when there are four players. That is, the scores of the partners are added together at the end of the game to determine which couple has high score and is thus the winning pair. Usually if there are two married couples playing, the women will team up against the men when it comes time to tally the scores. In one game I played, a man with a sense of humor insisted that whoever had the lowest number of points in the previous hand had to wear a piece of tape over his mouth until someone else replaced him as low point man. This was a source of great hilarity, and in fact, nearly all games I observed or participated in were extremely amusing because of the jokes and antics of players, especially blatant cheating, with partners trying to outdo the opposing couple in their efforts to devise clever ways of revealing their hands to each other, with many a "cheatuk" yelled in feigned anger.

32. 5 CARD MATCH. A dealer sets out 5 cards face up on the board, then deals 5 cards to each player. In turn, each player may pick up any of the cards on the board which match cards in his hand (by number), and all matching cards are laid aside. When a player is out of cards and when all cards have been removed from the board, 5 more are laid out or dealt. The players continue to put aside the matching cards until the deck is depleted. Children of both sexes, approximately 8 to 13, enjoy this game. Cards are not traditional among Eskimos and were introduced by Anglo-Americans

or Russians, but I have no information on the origin of this particular game. This and the one following are quite similar, and statements by local residents led me to think it may have been created in this area.

33. TAKE AWAY. A card game for 2 or 3 players. The jokers are removed from the deck, and 8 cards are laid out face up in 2 rows of 4 cards each. Each player is dealt 4 cards. In turn, each player tries to match, by number, one of his cards with one on the board. If he can make a match, he takes both cards and places them in a stack in front of him. If he cannot make a match, he must place one of the cards in his hand on the board, and another player takes a turn. If any player cannot match a card on the board, he may try to match the top card in one of the other players' stacks and add it to his own. When all players are out of cards, they are dealt 4 more each. The board is also replenished, until the deck is depleted. The player at the end of the game who has the most cards laid aside is the winner.

34. ESKIMO SOLITAIRE. One player plays alone. The entire deck (minus jokers) is laid out in 13 stacks of 4 cards each. The last card to be put down is turned face up and placed at the bottom of the stack with which it corresponds. That is, the first stack is for Aces, the second for 2's, the 3rd for 3's, and the last for kings. If, for example, the last card put down is a 7, it will placed face up at the bottom of the seventh stack of cards. Then the top card of the seventh stack is turned up and placed at the bottom of its corresponding stack. If it is a jack, for example, it is placed face up at the bottom of the eleventh stack. This sorting process continues until all cards are in appropriate stacks. I was told that in order to really win this game, a player must finish with the kings, that is, the final card to be turned over must be a king.

35. AN UNKNOWN CARD GAME. I was unable to learn anything about this game, for I observed it only once, and the participants said they did not know its name. The opportunity to ask them about the rules did not occur. An adult woman and man were kneeling on the floor. One would violently throw down cards, one at a time, until the other player could throw down one. I was unsure of the pattern, but it seemed that one could throw down a card which matched the last one thrown by the opposing player by number or suit. The play alternated between them, and it seemed that if no one could match the last card thrown down, whoever had thrown it kept throwing more cards until his opponent could match it. Each player had a full deck at the start of the game.

Games 35 through 38 were played during a game night in the community hall, organized by older teen-age boys for the young children after a storm which had kept them all indoors for several days. Both sexes participated in the games, and this was the only occasion on which I observed these particular games.

36. OBSTACLE COURSE. The floor is turned into an obstacle course using oil drums, buckets, and boxes. Then 5 or 6 volunteers are led out as a group and secluded where they cannot watch what is happening inside. One at a time, they are brought back in blindfolded to run the course. The volunteer is assisted by 2 teen-age boys who hold his hands and tell him when to jump over an obstacle, pulling him up by the arms to assist him in getting over it. It was quite amusing to spectators because after the volunteers had been led out, all the obstacles had been cleared away, so the volunteer was making great efforts to jump over nothing.

37. SCISSORS-STEP RELAY. Two teams are selected from volunteers. The first member of each team must go the length of the room and back using a scissors step. When he returns to his line of team mates, the next in line runs the course. The first team to finish wins.

38. BLINDFOLDED ON A STICK. Four or five volunteers are secluded outside. Each is brought in, one at a time, blindfolded. He is told to step onto a stick approximately 3 inches wide and 3 feet long which is held several inches off the floor by 2 young men. A third young man places the volunteer's hands on his head for balance, and the stick is raised another couple of inches, while the crowd yells, "Higher, higher." However, the third man, with the volunteer's hands still on his head, slowly lowers himself to the floor, so the volunteer thinks that the stick is being raised over the third man's head. Then suddenly the third man moves away, leaving the volunteer balancing on the stick. The volunteer loses his balance and jumps what he thinks will be many feet to the floor, but in fact he is only a few inches from it. Spectators enjoy the surprise (and relief) of the volunteer when he lands.

39. DIZZY RELAY. Two teams form single lines. The first member of each team runs to the opposite end of the room, picks up a stick, places his forehead on one end and the other end he rests on the floor. Then, with his forehead still touching the stick, he turns around 10 times, runs dizzily back to his team, and the second man in line repeats this. The first team to finish is the winner. It was amusing to watch the dizzy racers stagger back to their teams.

The following games were organized on the 4th of July, 1974, in a clear grassy area at the south end of the village. The entire village gathered to watch and participate.

40. BACKWARD RACE. 5 men volunteered to race about 20 feet. In order to get into position, they sat on the ground, then raised themselves up on their hands and heels and moved backward in this position, i.e., facing away from the finish line. This is an awkward position and looked funny to the spectators. The man who arrived at the finish line first was the winner, but each man found a pile of prizes waiting for him at the end: cigarettes, cotton gloves, candy.

41. BLINDFOLD SEARCH. About 10 women blindfolded and on their hands and knees, crawl from the starting line as fast as they can. Scattered at random ahead of them are many prizes: candy, apples; shampoo; and crackerjacks. The object is to find as many prizes as possible by feeling around in the grass for them. This game is also highly amusing because the women lose their sense of direction and often wander off into the crowd of spectators or bump into each other or grab prizes at the same time and struggle to take them away from each other. In addition, men sometimes jump into the field and tease the women by placing stones or debris in their reach in order to trick them.

42. HAMMER THE NAIL RELAY. Two teams of 5 men and women, mixed, line up. The first member of each team runs a short distance to a board, picks up a hammer lying next to it, and drives a nail into the board, then runs back to his team. The second man then does the same thing. The first team to finish is the winner. The women had some difficulty driving the nails in straight and were thus a great source of amusement for the crowd. All players receive prizes.

43. APPLE EATING CONTEST. Two teams, one consisting of 3 men and the other of 3 women, were each given an apple for each player. The first team to eat all its apples was the winner. All players received prizes.

44. HIGH JUMP. Several young men volunteered to have a contest. Each in turn jumps over a rope which is raised successively higher. If a man misses his jump or touches the rope, he is out. The last man keeps jumping until he, too, misses. This is a running free jump; no pole vault is used. All contestants receive prizes.

45. OVER AND UNDER RELAY. Two teams, one of boys and one of girls, from approximately 10 to 16, line up in two rows A bucket of water is passed down each line, over the head of one man, between the legs of the next, then up over the head of the third, and so on. When the bucket reaches the last person in line, he runs to the front of the line and begins passing it down again. This contin-

ues until the original first man is back at the head of the line. The first team to accomplish this is the winner. All players receive prizes. This was the only time I observed this game played outside of school. It was a frequent game during classroom parties or game time when a teacher organized the activities.

46. BICYCLE RACES. Children who could ride a bike race three at a time down the course of a field, around a man standing at the end, and back to the starting line. The first to return is the winner. Both boys and girls race, but only one sex at a time in each race. Three adult men also had a bike race which left the crowd aching from laughter because 2 of them did not know how to ride a bicycle and kept falling over. All players receive prizes.

47. FOOT RACES. All children are invited to participate in several foot races down the field, around a man sitting there, and back to the starting line. All who participate win prizes, even though the first over the line is the winner.

48. THREE-LEGGED RACE. Adult men in pairs each have one leg tied to a partner's. They run down the field, around a man stationed there, and back to the starting line. The first pair to return is the winner. Five days after this race, I saw two boys with their legs tied in this manner running through the village.

The following games are ones I observed at school. With only one exception, I never saw or heard of any of them being played in the village.

49. CAMELOT. A commercial board game owned by the school, this was played by the 6th, 7th, and 8th graders indoors during school recess.

50. CAT AND MOUSE. All but two players join hands to form a circle. The remaining 2 are the cat and the mouse. The cat chases the mouse, who weaves in and out of the circle of players to escape. The circle players help the mouse by raising their linked arms for him to pass, but they try to bar the cat from following. When the cat catches the mouse, 2 other players are chosen by the first cat and mouse or the teacher to be the next cat and mouse. This game was played once, so far as I know, outside the school building. It was played at a village festive bonfire.

51. BALL ROLLING RELAY. Two teams form 2 lines. Each has a ball which they roll along the floor between their legs until it reaches the last man in line. He then runs with the ball to the head of the line and begins the ball rolling back again. This continues until the original first man is back at the head of the line. The first team to do this wins.

52. FARMER IN THE DELL; LONDON BRIDGE. These familiar children's games are played in the preschool. I never saw either played in the village.

53. SQUIRREL AND DOG. This is a tag game. All but 2 players are divided into groups of 3. Two hold hands and are the "trees" while the third stands between them and is a squirrel. The remaining two students are a dog and a squirrel. The dog chases the squirrel until the squirrel runs to 2 trees where he is safe. The squirrel who is already there must leave and be chased by the dog. I am not clear on this final point, but I think that the squirrel who is caught then becomes the dog. This is played in all grades.

54. JACOB AND RUTH, also known as ABRAHAM AND SARAH. All but two students, one boy and one girl, join hands to form a circle. The remaining two, Jacob and Ruth, are blindfolded. The object of the game is for Jacob to catch Ruth, which he does by following her voice when she answers, "Jacob" every time he calls, "Ruth". When he catches her, a new game begins, the next Jacob and Ruth being chosen by the former players or by the teacher.

55. LAND AND SEA. A line is drawn on the blackboard, and all players line up single file facing the board. On one side of the line is Land and on the other is Sea. The teacher calls out "Land" or "Sea" and players must step to the appropriate side of the line. Those who step to the wrong side are out. The game is played until all players but one, the winner, are out.

56. COUPLE TAG. All but 2 players form a circle by joining hands The remaining 2 hold hands and walk around the outside of the circle until they decide to tag another couple by tapping their joined hands. Then the tapped pair and the first couple race around the outside of the circle in opposite directions. The first to reach the space left by the tapped couple takes that place, and the other couple must then walk around the circle and tap someone else.

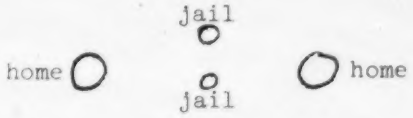
45. OVER AND UNDER RELAY. Played often at school, this game has been previously described in numerical sequence.

The following games are ones no longer played in Tununak, so far as I could determine. They were described to me by older residents who had played them as children.

57. JUGGLING (<u>pingaitariluni</u>-juggling with 3 balls; <u>malrotagluni</u>-juggling with 2 balls). This was formerly played by teen-age girls, although some boys did it occasionally. It was normally a summer outdoor activity using balls made of mud and grass. The participants sang little songs to go along with the rhythmn of

of juggling. The object was to keep the balls in the air as long as possible without dropping them.

58. PRISONER'S BASE (manamanak). A playing field is established by drawing 4 circles in the earth at indeterminate distances as follows:



Two teams compete, each having a home (qazgiq) and a jail (itachuik). One entire team runs around the opponents' home base, trying not to get caught by the enemy. This is primarily a chasing game, and any person tagged by the opposing team is put in their jail. One team runs again and again until all its members have been caught and put into jail. No one who described this game to me mentioned the rule that a runner who succeeded in getting around the enemy's home three times could free one of his own captured team members, but this is mentioned by Glassford (1970: 315) as a rule in the game played by Eskimos at Inuvik. Once all members of a team are captured, the game is over, and a new game begins in which the team roles are reversed. This was played by both boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 14, approximately.

59. THIMBLE TOSS. A middle-aged woman described this game to me. It used to be played by children and adolescents. Any number of players is permitted. Each player takes a turn tossing the thimble into the air. The object is to get it to land hole-side down. The one who can do this most often is the winner.

60. RING TOSS or HORSESHOES. Ring toss is mentioned by Nelson (1899: 333) who said the Eskimos wove grass rings for the game. Pairs or individuals compete to toss a ring or horseshoe over a stake implanted some distance from where they stand. The distance is not fixed. People in Tununak told me that the store used to sell plastic and metal horseshoes for this game. The winner is the player who succeeds in getting the ring or horseshoe over the stake most often.

61. DART TOSS. This game is for 2 players. A target was made from a wooden stick to which 2 thin wooden loops were attached. One loop is larger than the other. Thin wooden darts are flipped in the air. If one lands in the larger hole, the player slaps his opponent's hand once. If the dart lands in the smaller loop, he slaps his opponent's hand twice. I was told that this game was played only by children, but disappeared many years ago. Another individual described the game somewhat differently. The target was a piece of wood into which 3 holes had been carved. A

receives 5 points for throwing his dart into the smallest hole; 3 points for hitting the medium size hole; and 2 points for the largest hole. At the end of the game, the player with the largest number of points hits his opponent's hand as many times as he had points.

62. FINGER PULL. A player links one finger with one of his opponent's fingers. The two men then pull as hard as they can in opposite directions, trying to pull the opponent over a line or make him let go. The one who succeeds in doing this is the winner. Sometimes players have support from friends who grasp them around the waist and chest to help pull (Nelson 1899: 339).

63. HAND PULL. This is similar to finger pull, above, but players hold hands rather than link fingers (Nelson 1899: 337).

64. TUG OF WAR. Two teams of men each holding opposite ends of a rope try to pull each other over a line drawn as the boundary between them. The team who is pulled across the line loses (Nelson 1899: 338; Lantis 1946: 7; Metayer 1966: 17).

65. BOX HOCKEY. Only one middle-aged woman mentioned this game to me, and I have not found additional information on it. A box of wood approximately 3 feet by 4 feet, open at the top, was constructed with a wall down the middle of it. At the bottom center of the middle wall and the opposite sides of the box were small holes. Two players, each with a stick through the hole at his end of the box, attempted to push a small ball through the middle hole to his opponent's side, while the opponent tried to prevent the ball from coming through the hole to his side of the box. If a player succeeded in getting the ball over to his opponent's side, this was a goal point for him. Adults and children of both sexes were said to have played this game outdoors in the summer.

66. SILENCE. I have no information on age and sex of players. A rhyme was recited by all participants. It was translated for me: "Over there, over there, is a louse, and it's behind the [sand] spit. We'll kill it, and that's all." As soon as the last word of the rhyme was spoken, no one could talk. The first person to do so was the loser and was usually given some ugly name.

67. JACK STICKS or JACK STRAWS. An aboriginal game was played with thin carved sticks of wood. Later it was played with matches. The sticks are dropped in a pile on the floor, and players take turns removing them, one at a time without moving any stick other than the one being picked up. If a player is successful, he takes another turn. If he accidently moves another stick, he must pass the turn to the next player. The game continues until all the sticks have been picked up. The player who has picked up the most wins. I was told that this game disappeared in Tununak in the early 1950's (Nelson 1899: 333).

68. HANG ON A STICK. This is a male contest of strength. A man bends at the hips, keeping his legs straight, and puts his right arm behind his knees to grasp his left wrist. With his left hand, he holds onto a stick which 2 other men carry across the room. This means that when he is lifted off the floor, he is hanging upside down. The man who is carried the farthest without letting go is the winner.

69. ALL AROUND THE MULBERRY BUSH; LONDON BRIDGE; MUSICAL CHAIRS; PICK UP STICKS (JACK STICKS) were games older people said were played in school during their childhood.

APPENDIX B

A List of Play Activities of Tununak Children

Played in Summer

cut a piece of eggshell and attach a feather to it, then throw it up in the air
turn somersaults in the grass
make things with local clay
swing on swings
make tents from blankets over oil drums
catch tiny fish in ponds
make mudpies
wade in water
swim
pull each other in wagons
build "sand castles" on the beach
bury each other in sand with a hollow grass to breathe through
roll down the hill, then try to walk straight
roll down the hill in a barrel
throw balloons full of water at passersby
throw frisbees
skip rocks on water
shoot slingshots
ride bicycles and tricycles
shoot water guns

Played in Winter

noakcheeluta-put snow into mouth to melt it, spit it on the bottom of boots which are held up to let the water freeze, and slide down hill
throw snowballs
ski
ice skate
sled
jump from house roofs into snowdrifts
make tunnels in snow
push each other down hills and banks
slide down snowbanks on seal skins (to clean them)

Played Year Round

shoot bows and arrows
throw balls
balance on exposed water pipes
throw spears of wood or made from tinkertoys
play with plastic soldiers or farm animals
dress up parents' clothing
play with dolls. In the old days these were made with ivory faces and skin clothing. Children made little feather beds for them, and collected stones and earth to "cook" meals for them. Dolls were both male and female and were manipulated through family roles of mother, father, babies, etc. Both boys and girls played dolls together, the boys working with the male dolls and the girls with the female dolls. Today both sexes play with dolls, although it is much more common among girls. They use commercial dolls, and the most popular are the "Barbie" and "Ken" dolls, and for boys, too, the "G.I. Joe" dolls. The occasions on which I saw children play with dolls were ones on which the dolls were manipulated through roles as adults rather than used as pretend infants for the players themselves. Girls made clothes for their dolls, and much of their activitiy involved dressing and undressing them.
* cowboys and Indians
* church
* dentist
* movies
* house
* store
* school
* war

* indicates sociodramatic play

APPENDIX C

List of Jobs and Offices

Full-time Jobs in Tununak

babysitters for schoolteachers (2)
school janitor
school maintenance man
store manager
store clerks (2)
Wien airlines agent
postmaster
assistant postal clerk
teacher aides (3)
school cook

Part-time Jobs

medical aide
assistant medical aide
AVEC operator
assistant AVEC operator
social work aide
assistant Wien airlines agent
adult basic education teacher
National Guard (many positions)
policeman
assistant policeman
airport manager
village corporation administrator
magistrate
Neighborhood Youth Corps (as many as money permits)

Elective Offices (political)

council president
vice-president
secretary
treasurer
member

Other Elective Offices and Volunteer Positions

church council members
church council officers
school board members
school board president
lay deacons
catechism teachers

APPENDIX D

Examples of the Use of a Role Model in Game Analysis

Tag (#2)

Role Relationships (structure)

1. Relation of actor to audience: audience not normally present
2. Relation of actor to other actors: one role is differentiated from all counter roles. The structure is as a central-person, the "it," vs. all other players; one pursuer vs. any number of escapees. However the interaction often takes place in dyadic relationships as the "it" chases one other player at a time.
3. Organization of teams: none

Role Expectations

1. Consensus of players: no emic information available
2. Consensus of audience in regard to players: no emic information available

Role Behavior

1. Control: no rule based control or power
   a. type: dependent exclusively on player's individual skill as a runner, thus a fast runner has more control over slower runners than they have over him in that he has more choice in deciding who he will tag to be the next "it."
2. Role distance: } varies with each game, but generally
3. Role attachment: } players appear to be attached to their roles
4. Role conflict: generally absent, as age and sex of players does not appear to affect game behavior, nor does game role conflict with non-game role.
5. Interaction effects: the "it" often chases his or her best friends. Other interaction occurs when a player or players taunt the "it" to challenge him. This often results in the "it" chasing the challenger and creates a heightened sense of competition.

Role Recruitment

1. Social prestige: has only very slight effect on recruitment. A popular person among the children may initiate the game by

beginning to chase someone, and because the others like him, they will join the game. Social prestige may also have slight effects on who will be chased, as the "it" often chases his own best friends.

2. Playing competence: has a strong effect on recruitment; slow runners are easily tagged while fast runners can choose to escape.
3. Game mechanisms: rules of the game provide for the selection of the "it;" he is always the player tagged by the former "it." There are no prescribed rules for the selection of the first "it" in a tag game.

Role Functions

1. Eufunction: game provides healthy physical activity and social interaction in large groups.
2. Dysfunction: young players or others who are slow runners may experience frustration in their attempts to pursue or flee, but I have no empirical data to demonstrate this.

Role Clothing and Signs

1. Names: often none, although in some games the "it" is called a "ghost."
2. Equipment: none
3. Costume or dress: none

Situation of Interaction (setting)

1. Spatial: no boundaries or limits
2. Temporal: none
3. Movement pattern and direction: movement patterns are sporadic and fast; as the "it" chases one other player, the rest may relax temporarily and remain still. If the "it" grows tired, he may pause briefly. Movement diverges from the "it," wherever he is.

Hide and Seek (#13)

Role Relationships (structure)

1. Relation of actor to audience: no audience normally present
2. Relation of actor to other actors: } players divided into
3. Organization of teams: } two teams, as hiders and seekers. Within one team, players have little relationship to each other because all hiders go separately to hide; then seekers search simultaneously but separately for them.

Role Expectations

1. Consensus of players: no emic information available
2. Consensus of audience: no emic information available

Role Behavior (style of performance)

1. Control: none
2. Role distance: } only very young players appear to have
3. Role attachment: } difficulties since they may be afraid to hide alone and often give themselves away by making noises or laughing.
4. Role conflict: Again, very young children may be unable to divorce their role as sibling from that of hider and want to remain with an older brother or sister when hiding.
5. Interaction effects: good friends may select to be on the same team, otherwise player interaction does not affect the course of the game.

Role Recruitment

1. Social prestige: little or no effect except insofar as friends may wish to be on the same team.
2. Playing competence: no effect
3. Game mechanisms: no apparent mechanisms govern the selection of members for each team initially. But once seekers have found all hiders, game rules provide for a reversal of team roles; the seekers then become the hiders.

Role Functions

1. Eufunction: seekers may experience feelings of power and security over hiders, but I have no empirical data to demonstrate this.
2. Dysfunction: feelings of insecurity and mild fear may be experienced by hiders until they are found, but I have no empirical evidence to demonstrate this.

Role Clothing and Role Signs

1. Names: none
2. Equipment: none
3. Costume or dress: none

Situation of Interaction (setting)

1. Spatial: indoors or outdoors, but no boundaries or zones.
2. Temporal: no limitations, but the temporal boundaries of each game are determined by the length of time taken for all hiders to be found.
3. Movement pattern and direction: hiders diverge from a group of seekers in all directions simultaneously, as fast as they can. The seekers diverge in all directions simultaneously from where they waited for hiders to call "ready."

Storyknifing (#25)

Role Relationships

1. Relation of actor to audience: } the focal role is the
2. Relation of actor to other actors: } center of all activity.

Other players form an audience of potential players.

3. Organization of teams: none

Role Expectations

1. Consensus of players: no emic information available
2. Consensus of audience: no emic information available. Behavior indicates that focal roles--narrators--attempt to tell interesting stories and illustrate them in a conventional manner. Audience is expected to listen politely to stories and not interfere with the narrator's performance.

Role Behavior

1. Control: minimal, but in hands of the narrator of focal role
   a. type: narrator is the only one talking while others must listen
   b. amount: this depends upon her ability to entertain
2. Role distance: there is rarely any for the narrator. Listeners' attention may wander if they are distracted.
3. Role attachment: narrators seem most attached to roles in all games observed.
4. Role conflict: minimal and occurs only if a narrator or listener has the care of a younger sibling who is wandering away or getting into some kind of difficulty. Then a conflict between role or player and role of babysitter ensues.
5. Interaction effects: generally very amiable with no friction. Narrators who tell stories about activities they have shared with other players present increased feelings of friendship and camaraderie.

Role Recruitment

1. Social prestige: effects of this are slight, only insofar as girls who like each other and are good friends enjoy this activity together.
2. Play competence: the best storytellers often have more turns as narrators than poor (i.e., younger) storytellers.
3. Game mechanisms: none

Role Functions

1. Eufunction: storyknifing provides the opportunity for unsupervised social interaction of a verbal nature; creates a climate for free expression of world view, and encourages creativity.
2. Dysfunction: none that I could determine.

Role Clothing and Role Signs

1. Names: none
2. Equipment: a storyknife
3. Costume or dress: none

Situation of Interaction (setting)

1. Spatial: a small area, approximately 2 feet square, in which girls squat in a circle. The drawing area for story illustrations is on the ground in the middle of this circle.
2. Temporal: no limits
3. Movement pattern and direction: players remain stationary; the only movement is with hands and arms as illustrations are drawn.